

文書ノ出所ニ關スル證明書

本書ニ添附セル日本語ニテ書カレタル四一四頁ヨ
リ成ル南滿洲鐵道株式會社調查部發行抗日民族統
一戰線運動史ト題スル書籍ハ一九三九年東京ニ於
テ入手シ爾來自分（本館）ニ於テ藏置セル書籍ナ
ルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月十日

於東京都澁谷區松濤

齋藤良衛

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタルモノナ
ルコトヲ證明ス

同ニ於同所

立會人

今成泰太郎

Ref Doc 980

一九三九年七月

抗日民族統一戰線運動史

！國共合作ニ關スル政治資料！

南滿洲鐵道株式會社調査部

朗讀スベキ抜萃

一 中ノ臨等政層ノ對日宣戰布告文（一九三二、四、二五）ニ關スルモノ

◎四頁ヨリ五頁三行目マデ

二 中國ソヴェート政府ノ抗日合作宣言（一九三三、四、一五）ニ關スルモノ

◎七頁末行ヨリ八頁末行マデ

◎十頁五行目ヨリ十一頁十七行目マデ

三 中國王義軍北上抗日宣言（一九三四、七、一五）ニ關スルモノ

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◎四三頁四行目ヨリ四九頁六行目マデ

五 中共中央政治局ノ現下ノ政治形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ關スル決議（一九三五、十二、二五）所謂十二月決議

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- ◎五〇頁十一行目ヨリ十三行目マデ
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六 中共中央北方局ノ抗日救國宣言（一九三六、三、一〇）ニ關スルモノ

- ◎六九頁十五行目ヨリ七〇頁二行目マデ
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七 抗日救國ノ初歩的政治綱領（一九三六、六、一）ニ關スルモノ

- ◎七六頁九行目ヨリ七十二行目マデ
- ◎七六頁十八行目（末行）ヨリ七七頁四行目マデ
- ◎七八頁六行目ヨリ七行目マデ
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- ◎八一頁二行目
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- ◎八一頁十七行目
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八二頁十八行目（末行）ヨリ八三頁三行目マデ
- 六 中共中央ノ目前ノ政治情勢ニ關スル決議（一九三六、六、一三）ニ關スルモノ
◎ 八三頁十一行目ヨリ同頁末行マデ
八五頁十四行目ヨリ八七頁三行目マデ
- 七 中共中央政治局ノ抗日救亡運動ノ新形勢ト民主
共綱領樹立ニ關スル決議（一九三六、九、一七）
ニ關スルモノ
◎ 一一七頁十行目
一一八頁十四行目ヨリ十八行目マデ（末行）
一二一頁十四行目ヨリ十六行目マデ
- 一〇 中共中央ト中ソ政府ノ西安事變ニ關スル通電
（一九三六、一二、一九）ニ關スルモノ
◎ 一二五頁一行目ヨリ末行マデ
- 一一 中共中央ノ全黨同志ニ告グル書（一九三七、四、
一五）ニ關スルモノ
◎ 一二九頁二行目ヨリ六行目マデ
一三五頁七行目ヨリ十八行目（末行）マデ
- 一二 中共ノ日軍蘆溝橋進攻ニ關スル通電（一九三七、
七、八）
◎ 一三七頁七行目ヨリ一三八頁十三行目マデ

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- 一 三 中共ノ抗日救國十大綱領（一九三七、八、一五）
◎ 一四二頁十八行目ヨリ一四四頁一行目マデ
- 一 四 中共中央ノ目前ノ形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ關スル決議
（一九三七、八、一五）
◎ 一四五頁四行目
一四六頁十二行目ヨリ十五行目
- 一 五 中共中央ノ中國國民黨三中全會ニ對スル通電
（一九三七、二、一〇）
一二六頁十二行目ヨリ
一二八頁五行目マデ

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中國ソヴェート臨時中央政府ハ一九三二年四月二十六
日第一次對日宣戰及ビ對内宣言（民衆ニ告グル）ヲ
發表シタガソノ全文ハ又ノ如クデアル。

一 中ソ臨時政府ノ對日宣戰布告文（一九三二・四・二六）

日本帝國主義ハ一九三一年九月十八日武力ヲ以ツテ
東三省ヲ強奪シテ以來、引續キ陸海軍ヲ以ツテ上江
ビニ各地ヲ占領シ沿海ヤ渤海子江沿岸ノ都市ニ侵入シ、
飛行機ヤ大砲ヲ以ツテ中國ノ民衆ヲ虐殺シ中國人ノ家
屋ヲ燒却シム。東北及上海吳淞ニ於ケル損害ハ數ヘキ
レナイ。虐殺ハ多數ニ上リ現在モ尚引續キ行ハレテキ
ル。反革命ノ國民政府ハソノ各派軍閥ト共ニソノ帝國
主義ニ屈服スル賣用手段ニ基イテ、引續キ東三省及上
海各地ヲ日本帝國主義ニ捧ゲ、中國民衆ノ虐殺ヲナス
ガ儘ニ努カマデキル。現在デハ更ニ和平交渉ニヨツテ
全權的ナ中國ノ賣渡シ、各帝國主義ノ急速ナル中國分
割ノ促進ヲ實行シテキル。全國ニ於ケル反日、反帝ノ
革命運動ニ對シテハ凡ユル手段ヲ以テ之ヲ壓迫シ反日
團體ヲ解散サセ、反日ストライキヲ壓迫シ、反日民衆
ヲ虐殺シ日本ニ對シテ自發的ニ交戦シテキル上海ノ兵

Ref Doc 780

士、民衆挺身ノ撤退ヲ強要シ、撤退命令ヲ拒ンダ
九陽島ノ勇敢ナ兵士ヲ悉ク斃テ討撃シ、以テ帝國主義
ニ對シテ忠誠ヲ示シタ。國民黨政府及各派軍閥ノ所謂
「長城抵抗」ヤ「一面交戦一面抵抗」ノ如キハ、實際
ニ民衆ヲ欺瞞スルタメノカラクリニ過ギナイ。現在ソ
ヴエート連邦ハステニ帝國主義ノ朝律ヲ脱シテキルカ
國民黨軍閥ハ取ヘテ東三省、上樞及ハ中國ヲ帝國主義
ニ與ヘントシ、一方眞ニ民族革命ヲ遂行セントスル中
國ノ勞農紅軍ニ對シテハ、ヒエズソノ最大ノ兵力ヲ
以ツテ攻撃シ、ソヴエート政權ノ消滅ヲ企テテキル。

國民黨各派軍閥ノ一切ノ欺瞞、ソノ中國賣淫シノ陰謀
中國民族ヲ汚辱スル所ノ行爲ハ實際ニ於イテ、帝國主
義ノ中國革命壓迫ノタメノ手先的行爲デアリ中國民族
革命發展ノ障礙デアル。中華ソヴエート共和國臨時中
央政府ハココニ於テ對日宣戰ヲ布告シ、全中國勞農紅
軍ト廣汎ナル被壓迫民衆トヲ指導シ、民族革命戰爭ヲ
以ツテ日本帝國主義ヲ中國ヨリ驅逐シ一切ノ帝國主義
ノ中國分割ノ遂行ニ反對シ中國民族ノ徹底的解放ト獨
立ヲ要求スルモノデアル。中國ソヴエート共和國臨時

Ref Bc 381

中央政府ハ全國ノ労働者、農民、兵士及一切ノ被壓迫労働大衆ニ向ツテ直チニ民族革命戦争ヲ實行シ直ニ日本帝國主義ト戦ヒ、先ヅ第一ニ帝國主義ヲ受ケテ民族革命運動ヲ壓迫シ、民族革命戦争ヲ阻止スル所ノ國民黨ノ反動統治ヲ傾覆スルコトヲ宣言スルモノデア
ル。

一九三三年四月十五日ニ中國ソヴェート臨時中央政府ト工農紅軍革命軍事委員會ハ署名ヲ以ツテ抗日合作ノ宣言ヲ發表シ特ニ三ツノ條件ヲ提出シ國民政府ニ對シ妥協ヲ申込シタ。即チ（一）直チニソヴェート區ト對軍ニ對スル進攻ヲ中止スルコト（二）直チニ民衆ニ對シテ民主的自由、言論、出版、集會、結社、示威等ノ自由ヲ與ヘルコト（三）抗日義勇軍ノ組織及民主武装ノ自由ヲ與ヘルコトデア
ル。ソノ全文ハ次ノ如クデア
ル
中國ソヴェート政府ノ抗日合作宣言（一九三三・四・一五）

全中國ノ民衆ヨ、メーデーニ採シ我々ハ體ソテ全中國ノ労働大衆、帝國主義國民黨ノ血ナマゲサキ統治ノ

Ref Doc 980

下ニ於ケル勞農及都市貧民、迫ラレテ中國勞農ニ反發
スル白軍兵士、反帝國主義國爭ニ參加スル革命學生ト
青年、及び、幾千ノ國民黨牢獄ノ中ニ監禁サレ處行ヲ
受ケテキル革命犯人ニ同ツテ革命的敬意ヲ表ス。

日本帝國主義ノ繼續不肖ノ攻撃、中國分割危機ノ急
前ノ増大、民衆的危機ノ深化ハ我等ヲシテ中國ノ利益
ノタメニ國ヲ人々及助勞大衆ニ同ツテ次ノ宣言ヲ發表
セザルヲ得ザラシメタ。

目前ノ情勢ノ特徵ハ日本帝國主義ガ何等阻マレルコ
トナク長驅シテ平津區域ニ突入シタコトデアリ同時ニ
英帝國主義ガ新疆省ニ同ツテ攻撃ヲ遂行シ並ビニソノ
支配ニ歸セル西藏其ノ他ノ傀儡ヲ進ジテ、中國ノ西
區域ノ占領ヲ遂行シツツアルコトデアル。日本政府ト
國民黨トノ間ニ進メラレツツアル密談判ノ下ニ於イテ
蔣介石ハ又モ帝國主義強盜共ト一ツノ取引ヲ開始シ
國民黨中央政治委員會秘書唐有王ハ南京政府ト蔣介石
ヲ代表シ、上海ニ於テ秘密裏ニ日本代表ト談判ヲ行ツ
タ。蔣介石ハ中國勞農ノ首斬役ハ一九二九年ニハ日
本軍閥ニ山東ノ占領ヲ要求シ一九二二年ニハ上海防衛

Ref Dec 280

ノ民衆ヲ屠殺スルト共ニ北方戰線ヲ拋棄シ又日本帝國主義ニ熱河侵略ノチャンスヲ與ヘタ。彼等ハ日本帝國主義ト感ハナイバカリカソノ其趣同僚タル劉良ノ妻ヲ繼承シタ。西南政府ト福建軍閥モマタ日本並ビニノ帝國主義ニ同ツテ何等反對セズ、彼等ガ最近驕氣ヲサツテ宣傳スル「北上抗日」ナルスローガンハ民衆ヲ欺ク鬼話ニ過ギナイノダサウシテ彼等ハ只管地盤ノ擴張ニ餘念ナク且ツソコト中陸紅軍ニ向ツテ挑ミツツアルノダ。

蔣介石、汪精衛等ノ賣國賊共ハ、最近ニ於ケル紅軍ノ偉大ナル勝利ト前線兵士ノ勳搖及忿怒ヲ見ルヤ又モ一劇共即抗日「在朱蕭清前、不許言抗日」ナドノ武裝的宣傳ヲ以テ廣汎ナル兵士大衆ノ革命化ヲ阻止シヤルト試ミテキル。ダガシカシコノ種族黨ト威嚇ハ果シテ成功スルモノデナク、ソレト反對ニ自ラ更ニ自分等ノ罪惡ヲ暴露スル結果ヲ産ムデアラウ。我等ハ目前ノ趨勢ト我等ノ勝利ノ必然性ニ依リ今年一月ニ於ケル我等ノ提議ヲ更ニ繰返シ「紅軍及ビソヴエート區ノ勞農ハ日本帝國主義ヘノ有效ナル抵抗ヲ妨ゲルモノダ」ト云

Ref Doc 98c

セル國民黨ノ泣キ言ヲ蹴飛バサネバナラヌ。我等ハ我
等ノ過去ニ於ケル變遷ニ照シ、積極的ニ日本及ビ一切
ノ帝國主義ノ侵略ニ抵抗スベキデアルト認メル。コレ
ニヨツテ我等ハ村ビコノ變遷ヲ全國ニ布カスルデアラ
ウ。次ノ條件ノ下ニ、中國ノ運命ハ如何ナル武裝隊伍
トデモ戦争ノ作戦的協定ヲ訂立シ、日本帝國主義ノ侵
略ニ反對スル準備ヲ有ス。

一 即刻ソヴエート國境ノ攻撃ヲ停止スルコト。

二 即刻民衆ノ民主的權利（集會、結社、言論、出版、
示威ノ自由ト政犯ノ釋放）ヲ保障スルコト。

三 即刻民衆ヲ武裝シ、武裝的義勇軍隊伍ヲ創立シ、以
ツテ中國ヲ保衛シ、中國ノ獨立、統一ト領土ノ保全
ヲ爭ヒ取ルコト。

Def Doc 980

一九三四年七月十五日、中國工農紅軍ハ次ノ如キ「北上抗日宣言」ヲ發表シタ。國內戦争ヲシテ對外戦争ヘ轉向シメル爲ノ意圖デアルコトハ云フ迄モナイ。

七、中國工農紅軍北上抗日宣言（一九三四年、七、一五）

全中國ノ工人農民兵士並ビニ一切ノ革命民衆ヨ！
極惡ナル日本帝國主義ハ我が東三省ヲ併呑シ、熱河、內蒙古ヲ侵略シ、現ニ又全華北ヲ掠奪シタ。中國南方ニ於イテハ日本帝國主義ノ陸海空軍ノ大砲ハ計画的ニ福建省ノ直隸古領ヲ計劃シ、全中國ヲ日本帝國主義ノ殖民地トナシ、全中國ノ民衆ヲ亡國奴タラシメ以テ永久ニ日本臣服ノ慘狀、凌辱、搾取、蹂躪ニ任セントシテキル。

國民黨軍閥ト蔣介石、張家長等ハ日本帝國主義ノ侵略ニ對シ、一貫シタ投降賣國ノ方針ヲ以テ東三省、熱河、內蒙古ヲ賣リ、現ニ又「滿洲國」ト直接通郵、通商ヲ協定シテ「滿洲國」ヲ承認シ、全華北及福建省ヲ賣ツタ。夫彼等ハ日本帝國主義ヲ助ケテ中國民衆ノ反日運動ヲ鎮壓シ、日貨排斥運動及反日義勇軍ノ進發戦争ヲ抑壓シ、且ツ「抗日ノ力不足」ヲ口實トシテ、全區百萬以ヒノ軍隊ヲ集メ、十億ノ銀元ヲ徒費シ、凡ユル飛行機ト大砲ヲ以ツテ全中國唯一ノ反日反帝ヲ目的トスルソヴェート政府ト工農紅軍ニ向ツテ不斷ノ「圍剿」

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ヲ進メテキル。之等一切ノ事實ハ國民黨軍閥ガ日本帝國主義ノ表モ忠實ナル証明デアリ、國民黨軍閥ガ中國有史以來ノ「スバイ」賣國奴タルコトヲ證明スルモノデアル。

中國ソヴェート政府ノ工農紅軍ハ日本帝國主義ノ間斷ナキ侵略ニ對シ一再ナラズ全中國民衆ノ武裝ヲ強調シ、民族革命戦争ヲ以ツテ日本帝國主義ノ侵略ニ反對スベキヲ明ラカニシ、對日宣戰ヲ公ニシ、對日宣戰ノ緊急動員令ヲ下シ、全「ソ」區民衆ヲ動員シ直接日本帝國王統トノ戦争ニ備ヘタ。ソヴェート政府ト工農紅軍ハ更ニ全國民衆ニ對シ……（一）「ソ」區ト紅軍ノ政略ヲ停止セヨ、（二）民衆ニ對シ初歩ノ民主權利タル言論、出版、集會、結社、罷工、示威ノ自由ヲ與ヘヨ、（三）速カニ民衆ヲ武裝シ群衆的抗日義勇軍ヲ創設シ、中國保全三個條件ノ下ニハ中國ノ如何ナル武裝隊トモ好ンデ戰闘協定ニ應ズベシ、トノ宣言ヲ發シ、塘沽協定ニ反對シ、中日直接交渉ト日本政府ノ提議タル「滿洲國」ノ承認ニ反對シ、且ツ國民黨ノ華國賣渡ニ反對シ、東北抗日義勇軍及全中國ノ一切ノ反帝革命運動ヲ公然援助シ、帝國主義國民黨ノ抗日反帝運動ニ對スル一切ノ彈壓ニ反對シタ。

Ref Dec 980

故ニ今ヤ優勢ナル國民黨軍隊トノ一大決戦ヲナスベキ秋ニ當リ、ソヴエート政府ト工農紅軍ハ萬難ヲ排シテ一大決心ヲ以ツテ抗日先鋒隊ヲ派遣シテ北上抗日セシメタ。如何ナル武裝隊伍ト雖モ我が方ノ提出セル三ヶ條件ヲ認ムルモノアレバ我が主力ハ全部先鋒隊ニ編イテ出動シ、全中國ノ一切ノ武裝隊ト共同シテ抗日セントスルモノデアル。

全中國ノ民衆ヨ！我が中國工農紅軍ノ北上抗日先鋒隊ハ進ンデ全中國ノ民衆及一切ノ武力ト協力シテ抗日ヲナシ、民衆ノ民族革命戰爭ヲ展開シ、日本帝國主義ヲ打倒セネバナラス。全反日民衆ハ我が工農紅軍ノ北上抗日先鋒隊ヲ援助シテソノ周圍ニ團結シ、我が抗日先鋒隊ニ加ハリ武裝シテ、中國ヲ脅カス日本帝國主義ノ匪賊共ト直接決戦セヨ！

一切ノ抗日民衆ハ等シク我々ノ道連れデアル。一致聯合セヨ！一切ノ個人、團體、武裝隊伍ノ抗日ヲ禁止壓迫スルモノハ凡テ是奸惡ノ賣國賊デアルカラ我々ハ一致奮起シテ之ヲ倒サネバナラス。

全中國民衆ノ武裝的民族革命戰爭ニヨリテノミ、日本及一切ノ帝國主義ヲ倒シ、中國民族ノ獨立解放ト中國領土ノ完復ヲ期スルコトが出來ル。

民族革命戰爭ノ勝利ヲ爭取スル爲メニソヴエー

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ト政府ト工農紅軍ハ更ニ具體的ニ宣言スル。

一 國民政府ガ東三省、熱河、內蒙古、華北、福建省並ビニ全中國ヲ賣ルコトニ斷乎トシテ反對シ、國民黨政府ノ賣國々等ノ中日直接交渉ニ反對シ、滿洲偽國ノ承認ニ反對シ、帝國主義強盜集團タル國際聯盟及米國ノ援助ヲ期待スル幻想ヲ棄テルコト。

二 即時對日絶交ヲ宣布シ、塘沽協定並ビニ一切ノ中日秘密條約ノ無效ヲ宣布シ、全中國ノ陸海空軍ヲ動員シテ對日戰爭ヲ遂行シ、即時「一ソ」區ノ攻略ト「一ソ」區ノ封鎖ヲ停止セシメ、工農紅軍ヲシテ日本帝國主義トノ直接戰爭ヲ完成セシムルコト。

三 全中國民衆ヲ糾合シ、國民黨ノ兵器庫ト兵工廠ニ有スル一切ノ兵器及一切ノ輸入セル武器ヲ以ツテ自ラヲ武装シ、民衆的抗日義勇軍ト義勇隊ヲ組織シテ直接抗日戰爭ト義勇戰爭ニ參加セシメ、積極的ニ東北義勇軍ト中國工農紅軍ノ北上抗日先鋒隊ヲ援助スルコト。

四 日本帝國主義者及賣國賊共ノ全企業ト財産ヲ沒收シ、一切ノ中國々債元利金ノ支拂ヲ停止シ、累進稅ヲ設ケ、國民黨ノ全軍費ヲ抗日軍費ニ轉用スルコト。

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普遍的ニ反日會、日賞排斥委員會、義勇軍紅
軍援助寄附金募集委員會、及各種ノ反日目的
糾察隊、交通破壞隊、宣傳隊、避難隊等ノ如
キ反日的民衆團體ヲ組織シ、廣汎ナル群衆一
老幼、宗教、信仰、政治ノ別ニ拘ラズ一切ノ
男女一ヲ反日團體中ニ収メシ、罷工、罷課、
罷市デモヲ利用シテ日本帝國主義ノ侵略ト國
民黨國府ノ賣國投降ニ反對スルコト。

ソヴェート政府ト工農紅軍ハ一切ノ犠牲ヲ願フ
此ノ綱領ノ爲メニ奮闘セントスルモノデアル。ソ
ヴェート政府ト工農紅軍ハ全中國民衆ガ本綱領ノ
全面的實現ヲ擁護シテ徹底的に奮闘セントヲ要
求スル。

帝國主義ノ走狗國民黨並ビニ其ノスパイ賣國賊
等ガ「中國ニ抗日ノ實力無シ」トイフナラ言ハセ
テ置カウ。併シ全中國民衆ノ反日總動員、反日武
裝、反日的團結ニヨツテ日本其ノ他一切ノ帝國主
義ヲ倒シ、賣國的スパイノ集團タル國民黨ヲ倒ス
コトガ出來ルノダ。

中華ソヴェート共和國中央政府

主席 毛澤東

副主席 項英

張國燾

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中國工農紅軍革命軍事委員會

主席 朱德
副主席 周恩來
王德清

D

一九三五年ノ夏、冀東地區ニ於イテ樺津、何應欽協定ニ違反スル事件ノ頻發ガキツカゲトナツテ、殷汝耕ノ指導スル冀東ノ中立地帯ガ形成サレルニ至ツタガ、コレニヨツテ同年八月一日、中國共產黨中央委員會ハ「抗日救國ノタメ全國同胞ニ告グル書」ナル宣言ヲ發表シタコレハ八・一宣言トイッテ非常ニ有名ナル宣言デアルガ、ソノ全文ハ次ノ如クデアル。

八、中共ノ抗日救國ノタメ全國同胞ニ告グル書

(一九三五・八・一)

國內外ノ工、農、軍、政、商、學各界同胞達！

我ニ對スル日本帝國主義ノ精力的進攻、南京賣國政府ノ一歩毎ノ投降ニヨリ、我が北方各省ハ東北四省ニツイテ實際的ニ亡ビツツアル。

數千年來ノ文化史ヲ有スル平津地方、無限ノ富ヲ擁スル河北、山東、河南各省、最モ重要ナ軍事的意義ヲ有スル察哈爾、綏遠區域、全國政治經濟ノ命脈タル北寧、平漢、津浦、平綏等ノ各鐵道ハ

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實際上、完全ニ現在日本軍ノ控制下ニ在リ、關東軍司令部ハ今ヤ積極的ニ所謂「蒙古國」「華北政」成立ノ計畫ヲ實現シツツアル。民國二十年ノ「九・一八」事變以來、東三省ヨリ熱河、熱河ヨリ長城、長城ヨリ「冀東非戰區」、非戰區ヨリ河北、察哈爾、綏遠及北支各省ヲ實際的ニ占領シ、僅カ四年足ラズニシテ半壁ノ山河ハ既ニ大部分日寇ノ占領或ハ侵略スルトコロトナツテシマツタ。田中義人大將ノ上奏セル我が國全滅ノ謀定計畫ハ着々トシテ實行サレツツアル。

コノ儘デユケバ長江、珠江流域及其ノ他ノ各省ハ漸次日寇ノ占領スルトコロトナルデアラウ。我が五千年ノ歴史ヲ有スル老國ハ完全ニ被征服地ト變ジ、我が四億四千ノ同胞ハスベテ亡國奴ト變リ果テルデアラウ。

近年來我が民族ハ生死ノ關頭ニ立ツテキル。抗日ナラバ生キ、不抗日ナラバ死シ、抗日救國ハ既ニ各同胞ノ神聖ナル天職トナツテキル。而シテ最も痛心ナコトハ我等偉大ナル民族ノ中ニ未ダ少數ノ歇心的徒輩が存在スルコトデアル。蔣介石、汪精衛、張學良等ノ賣國奴、賣郭、楊永泰、王濟唐、張群等ノ日寇ノ手先共ハ數年來「不抵抗」政策ヲ以ツテ我國領土ヲ賣リ渡シ、日寇一切ノ要求ヲ受

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ケタ。「攘外必先安内」ノ武斷的宣傳ヲ以ツテ内
戰ヲ進行シ、一切ノ反帝運動ヲ壓迫シ、「十年生
聚」「十年牧養」「準備復讐」等ノ欺瞞的スロー
ガンヲ以ツテ人民ノ抗日救國運動ヲ制止シタ。而
シテ最近來コノ裏奸、賣國奴共ガ「中日親善」「
中日合作」「大アジア主義」等ノスローガンノ下
ニ爲ストコロノ降日賣國ノ露骨ナ、無恥ナ行動ハ
正シク古今中外ニ未ダ會ツテ聞カザル奇聞デアル。

中國ソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハ日寇ノ我が國ニ
對スル侵略的行動及裏奸賣國奴ノ裏切行動ヲ中華
民族ノ無上ノ恥辱デアルト認メル。中國ソヴェー
ト政府ト共產黨ハ段トシテ宣言スル「我ラハ日寇
ノ我が國領土ニ對スル侵略ト内政干渉ニ反對シ斷
乎反對ノ態度ヲ以ツテ區ムノミナラズ、日寇ノ提
出セル國民黨及藍衣社組織ノ解散要求ニ對シテモ
マタ強硬ニ抗議スルモノデアル。中國ソヴェート
政府及共產黨カラ見レバ、中國人一切ノコトハ當
然中國人自ラ解決スベキモノデ國民黨、藍衣社、
賣國奴ノ罪惡ガ如何ニ許容シ難クトモ、コレガ殘
廢ノ問題ニ對シテハ日寇ハ何ラ容喙スベキ權利ヲ
持タナイ。

中國ハ我等ノ祖國デアル。中華民族タル以上、
我モ君モミナ同胞デアル。故ニ我等ハドウシテ國

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ガ亡ビ民族ガ亡ブノヲ憂慮スルコトガ出来ヨウカ。
斷ジテ救國自救ノタメニ起タズニハキラレナイノ
ダ。アビシニヤハ億カ八百萬ノ人口ヲ有スル國家
デアリナガラ、併モイタリヤ帝國主義ニ對シ英雄
的武裝反抗ヲ準備シ以ツテ自己ノ領土ト人民ヲ防
禦セントシテキル。我ハ四億四千萬ノ人口ヲ擁ス
ル大國デアリ乍ラ、何故斯クノ如ク手ヲツカネテ
滅亡ヲ待ツノデアラウカ。

中華ソヴェート政府ト共産黨ハ固ク信ズル一厚
顔ニモ仇ニ仕ヘルヤワナ莫似ラスル張貴憲、鄭季
胥、張燕郷、傅岐ラノ如キ程ク少數ノ漢奸賣國奴
共ヲ除ケバ、我大多數ノ工農軍政商學各界ノ同胞
達ハ決シテ日寇ノ牛馬奴隸トナルコトニ甘ンジナ
イデアラウ。

ソヴェート政府ノ對日宣戰、紅軍ガ再三提議シ
タ各軍隊トノ共同抗日、紅軍北上抗日先鋒隊ノ困
難ナ闘争、十九路軍ト民衆ノ松滬決戰、察哈爾、
長城、遼東各地軍民ノ英雄闘争、福建人民政府ノ
紅軍ノ提議ニヨル聯合抗日、羅登賢、徐名鴻、吉
鴻昌、潘供生、尋維淵、方志敏等民族英雄ノ救國
ノタメノ犧牲、田漢、杜重遠、劉崇武等愛國志士
ノ抗日ノタメノ入獄、蔡廷鍔、莊光祿、陳銘樞、
方振武等ノ抗日戰團、宋慶齡、何香凝、李杜、馬

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紹伯等數千人が署名セル中華民族對日作戰基本綱
領、數年來工農商學各界ノ同胞が抗日ノタメ遂行
セル排貨、罷工、罷市、罷課、示威等ノ救國運動、
特ニ我東北民衆數十萬ノ武裝反日戰國、楊靖宇、
趙尚志、周保中、謝文東ラノ民族英雄ノ指導下ニ
於イテ行ハレタ英雄的抗日蜂起等ハ總テ我民族ノ
救亡圖存ノ偉大ナル精神ニシテ、且ツ我民族ノ抗
日救國運動ヲ勝利ヘ導クモノデアール。現在ニ於イ
テ我民族ノ救國抗日事業ガマサニ得ベキ勝利ヲ未
ダ獲得セザル原因ハ、一ツニハ日寇ト將賊ノ内外
カラノ夾攻、一ツニハ各種抗日反蔣勢力間ノ隔離
ト誤解ニ基ク不一致、不團結ノタメデアール。茲ニ
於イテ中國ソヴエート政府ト共產黨ハ抗日共同戰
線ヲ結成スベキ必要ガ目途ノ間ニ迫ツテキルコト
ヲ強調シ、再ビ全國同胞ニ對シテ呼ビカケル次第
デアール。。。。

各黨派ガ過去ニ於イテ、マタ現在ニ於イテ、政
見並ビニ利害ガ不同デアールニセヨ、各軍隊ガ過去
及現在ニ於イテ反對行動ヲ執ツテキルニセヨ、均
シクスベテノ人ハ一兄弟翁ニ屬ゲドモ外ノ侮リヲ
防グ一トイフ眞ノ自覺ガ必要デアール。先ヅ一切ノ
内戰ヲ停止シ、對立ヲ超越シテ凡ユル國力（人力、
物力、財力、武力等）ヲ集中シ以ツテ救日救國ノ

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神聖ナル事業ノタメニ戦ハネバナラヌ。中國ソヴ
エート政府ト共產黨ハモウ一度宣言スル。。。。。

國民黨ノ軍隊ハソヴエート區域攻勢ノ行動ヲ即
時停止シ、何レノ部隊モ對日戦争準備ヲ遂行セネ
バナラヌ。紅軍ハ過去ト現在彼等ト紅軍ノ間ニ介
在セル如何ナル舊仇宿怨ニモコダハラズ、且ツ彼
等ト紅軍ノ間ニ介在スル内政問題上ノ凡ユル紛争
ニモコダハルコトナク直チニコレラノ對立ヲ克服
シ、彼等ト親密ナル提携ノ下ニ共同救國ヲ希望ス
ルモノデアル。

中國ソヴエート政府ト共產黨ハ更ニ一步ヲ進メ
テ懇切ナル呼びかけヲナスデアラウ。。。。。

一切ノ亡國奴タルヲ願ハザル同胞達ヨ

一切ノ愛國の良心的ナ軍官士兵達ヨ、兄弟達ヨ

一切ノ抗日救國ノ神聖事業ヘノ参加ヲ希望スル

諸黨派竝ニ各團體ノ同志達ヨ

一切ノ國民黨、藍衣社内ノ民族意識アル熱血ナ
青年達ヨ

一切ノ祖國ニ關心ヲ持ツ同胞達ヨ

一切ノ中國々内被壓迫民族（蒙、韓、蒙、藏、
滿、苗、果、黎、番等）ノ兄弟達ヨ

共ニ起チ上ツテ、日寇及蔣賊ノ壓迫ヲ勇敢ニ突
キ破リ、中國ソヴエート政府ト東北各地ノ抗日政

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種ヲ單一的全國的國防政府ニ組織シ、紅軍ト東北人民革命軍及各地反日義勇軍ヲ單一的全國的抗日義勇軍ニ組織シヨウデハナイカ。

ソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハコノ種國防政府ノ發起人タランコトヲ希望シテキル。ソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハ直チニ中國各黨派、各團體（工農團體、學生會、商業團體、教育會、新聞雜誌記者聯合會、救國員聯合會、致公會（華僑ノ一組織）各名流學者、政治家、民族自衛會、反日會、故國會等々）及一切ノ地方軍政機關ト國防政府共同成立ノ問題ニツキ談判ヲ進メ、ソノ結果成立スル處ノ國防政府ハ當然救國圖存ノ臨時指導機關トナスベキデアリ、コノ種國防政府ハマタ當然全同胞ノ代表機關（工農軍政商學各界、一切ノ抗日救國ヲ願フ黨派ト團體、及國外同胞ト國內各民族ガ民主々義的条件下ニ於イテ選出セル代表ヨリ成ル）ニシテ且ツ具體的ニ抗日救國ニ關スル各種問題ヲ討論スベキデアルト思惟スル。ソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハ絶對的ニコノ全民代表機關ノ召集ニ努力援助シ、マタ絶對的ニコノ機關ノ決議ヲ執行スルモノデアル。何故ナラバソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハ人民ノ公意ヲ絶對的ニ尊重スル政府デアリ、政黨デアルカラダ。

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國防政府ノ重要責任ハ抗日救國ニ在リ、ソノ行政方針ハ左記各項ヲ包括ス。

一 抗日救國、失地回復

二 救災治水、安全民生

三 日本帝國主義ノ一切ノ在華財產ヲ沒收シ對日軍費ニ充實ス。

四 漢奸賣國奴ノ一切ノ財產、食糧、土地ヲ沒收シテ貧苦同胞ニ分配シ且ツ抗日戦費ニ充當ス。

五 苛捐雜稅ヲ排除シ、財政金融ヲ調節シテ工農商業ヲ發展セシム。

六 給料ヲ増額シテ工農軍政商學各界ノ生活ヲ改善セシム。

七 民主自由ヲ實行シ一切ノ政治犯ヲ釋放ス。

八 免費教育ヲ實行シ失業青年ヲ教育ス。

九 中國々内各民族ノ一律平等政策ヲ實行シ、在外同胞、在華各民族ノ國內外ニ於ケル生命、財産、居住、學業ノ自由ヲ保證ス。

十、一切ノ反帝國主義民衆（日本國內ノ勤勞階級、朝鮮、臺灣ノ植民地民族）ヲ聯合シテ友軍トナス。中國民族解放運動ニ同情スル一切ノ民族、國家ヲ聯合シ、抗日戦争ニ際シ好意的中立ヲ守ル民族、國家ニ對シテ友誼的關係ヲ建立ス。

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十六 抗日聯合軍ハ抗日救國ヲ願フ凡ユル部隊ニヨ
ツテ組成スル。

國防政府首導ノ下ニ統一的抗日聯合總司令部
ヲ組織スル。一此ノ種總司令部ハ各軍ノ抗日
長官及士兵中ヨリ代表ヲ選出シテ組織シ、或
ハ其ノ他ノ形式ニヨツテ組織スルガ、各方面
代表及全體人民ノ合意ニヨツテコレヲ定ム。
紅軍ハ先ンジテ聯合軍ニ加入シ抗日救國ノ天
職ヲ盡クス。

十七 ソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハ、國防政府ヲシテ
眞ニ國防ノ責任ヲ負ハシメルタメ、抗日聯合
ヲシテ眞ニ抗日ノ責任ヲ負ハシメルタメ全國
同胞ニ呼ビカケル。一銃アルモノハ銃ヲ出シ、
糧アルモノハ糧ヲ出シ、力アルモノハ力ヲ出
セト。専門技能アルモノハソノ技能ヲ貢獻シ、
全體同趣ヲ總動員シ、アラユル新舊武器ヲ以
ツテ幾百幾千萬ノ民衆ヲ武装セシメヨト。

中國ソヴェート政府ト共產黨ハ固ク信ズル。
若シ四億五千萬同胞ニ統一アル國防政府ノ指導
ガアルナラバ、單一的抗日聯合軍ガ先驅トナル
ナラバ、幾百幾千萬ノ武装民衆ヲ整ヘルナラバ、
救知レヌ東方及全世界無産階級、被壓迫民族ノ
援接ガアルナラバ、内カラハ日本勞働者農民ノ

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反抗ガアリ、外カフハ列強ノ敵視スル日本帝國
主義ニ必ズヤ打テ勝テ得ルデアラウ、同趣ヲ起
テ！

祖國防衛ノタメニ闘ヘ！

民族獨立ノタメニ闘ヘ！

國家獨立ノタメニ闘ヘ！

領土保全ノタメニ闘ヘ！

人權自由ノタメニ闘ヘ！

大中華民國抗日救國大團結萬歲！

中國ソヴェート政府人民委員會

中國共產黨中央委員會

一九三五年八月一日

コノ有名ナル八、一宣言が發表サレタル後、中
國ノ民族統一戦線ハ新クソノ變形ヲ望ヘルニ至ッ
タ。現在非常ナカラ持ツテキル抗日民族統一戦線
ハコノ宣言ノ基礎ノ上ニ發展シテ來タノデアル。
目前ノ抗戰中ニ於イテ、全中國人民ノ一體的スロ
ーガントナツテキル「力アルモノハ力ヲ出シ、錢
アルモノハ錢ヲ出セ」ト云フノハコノ八、一宣言
ノ中カラ出タモノデアル。コノ宣言ハ抗日民族統
一戦線ニ對シテ確定的方針ヲ與ヘ、偉大ナル作用

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ヲ起サシメタノデアル。

故ニ「九・一八」暴變ヨリ中共ノ「八・一宣言」
マデノ期間ヲ以ツテ、抗日民族統一戦線ノ萌芽時
期デアルト規定スルコトガデキル。

(以下次頁ニ續ク)

Ref. Doc 780

一九三五年十二月二十五日。中共中央ノ政治局
ハ「現下ノ政治形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ關スル決議」ヲ
通過シ、抗日民族統一戰線ノ運動ニ對シテ益々力
癩ヲ入レルニ至ツタ。ソノ決議文ハ次ノ如クデア
ル。

一〇、中共中央政治局ノ現下ノ政治形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ
關スル決議（一九三五・一二・二五）

三、國防政府ト抗日聯合軍

反日反賣國賊的民族統一戰線ノ最モ一般的ナ最
モ優レタルモノハ國防政府ト抗日聯合會ノ組織デ
アル。ソヴエト制度ト土地革命ニハ不同意ダガ反
日販賣國賊ニ同意スル分子ハ存在シテキル。
政治經濟ノ不一致ニヨツテ地方割據ノ狀態ガ生ジ
テラリ。中國ソヴエト政權ハ今日中國ノ一部領
土ニ成功セルニ過キズ、ソノ他漢奸賣國賊等ノ民
族反革命ハ寧ラ日本帝國主義ノ發動ニヨリナサレ
タキル。コレ等ノ臺頭ニヨリ國防政府ト抗日聯合
軍ノ組織ハ可能デアルノミナラズ、最モ必要ナ事
デアル。

中國人民ノ反日反賣國賊方法ハ多様デアル。抗
日参加分子ノ自覺程度モ亦同様デハナイ。共產黨

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員ハ凡ユル機會ヲ利用シテ各種各様ノ圖爭ヲ發動シ、コレ等ヲ國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ノ域ニ導キ、一切ノ反日、反賣國賊分子ハソノ如何ナル階級ヲ代表スルト、政治差別ノ何タルト、何種ノ社會關係タルト又何種ノ武裝部隊タルトヲ問フコトナク、國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ニ参加スレバヨイノデアル。國防政府ハ全中國反日反賣國賊聯合戰線ノ政權組織デアリ、反日反賣國賊民族革命戰爭ノ統一指導機關デアル。階級意義ヨリ云ヘバ國防政府ハ反賣國賊ヲ共同目標トスル各階級ノ聯盟デアル。

國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ヲ速カニ組織シ、コレヲシテ民族基礎ト武力ヲ弘大發展セシメルタメニ、共產黨ノ有スル策略ハ、從來ノ自發的ニ發生シタ抗日團體、抗日武裝隊ニ一任セズ、進ンデソレヲ組織シ、黨員ヲ指揮シ、各方面ヨリ一切ノ愛國分子ヲ動員セントスルモノデアル。

即チ愛國的團體、階級、黨派、生産業者ト商人文化人ト教育者、學生ト教職員、新派ト舊派、工農ト小資産階級、ブルジョア、都市ト農村、武裝隊等々ヲ動員シ、反日反奸賣國賊ノ團體（抗日會反日聯合會等）ヲ發起シ又各種ノ反日、反賣國賊

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軍隊（抗日義勇軍、人民革命軍、新シキ十九路軍等々）、政權（縣區、市抗日政府、人民革命政府等々）組織シ、コレ等ノ團體、軍隊、政權ヲ合體シ、更ニコレニソヴエイト紅軍ノ力ヲ加ヘレバコレコソ國防政府、抗日聯合軍ノ組織トナルノデアリ。國防政府、抗日聯合軍成立後ハソノ行動過程中ニ於テ毎日新シキ團體ハ新シキ地方政府及軍隊ヲ發動シ、一面協同叛分子ヲ絶エズ陣歟シ一面ニ於テハ新シキ實力ヲ増大シ、國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ヲシテ不朽ノモノタラシメ、潑刺剛健ニシテ偉大ナル鬭争力ヲ有スル政府聯合軍タラシメネバナラス。或ル地方ハ黨ノ勢力薄弱ナルタメ黨ノ指導ヲ受クル事ナク、或ハ紅軍及ソ區カラ遠ク離レテキルタメ、ソヴエイト紅軍ハ自由ニ抗日政府ト抗日聯合軍ノ創造ニ参加スル事ガ出來ス。コレ等ノ地方ニ對シテハ黨ハ積極的ニ援助ヲ與フベキデアツテ、コレハ國防政府ト抗日聯合軍實現ニ對スル共產黨ノ具體工作方針デアリ。

國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ハ反日反賣國賊ノ一般最高ノ民族統一戰線ノ組織デアリガ故ニ最モ一般的ナ行動綱領ガ無クテハナラス。コレ綱領ハ次ノ通りデアリ。

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- 1、抗日救國、失地收復
 - 2、中國ニ於ケル日本帝國主義ノ全財産ヲ沒收シ
抗日經費ニ充當スル。
 - 3、一切ノ賣國賊漢奸ノ土地財力ヲ沒收シ工農及
難民ニ分與スル。
 - 4、救災、治水、民生ノ安定
 - 5、一切ノ苛捐雜稅ヲ廢除シ工、農、商業ヲ發展
セシム。
 - 6、給料手當ヲ増シ工人、兵、教職員ノ地位ヲ
改善スル。
 - 7、教育ヲ盛ニシ失學兒童ヲ救済スル。
 - 8、民權ヲ實現シ一切ノ政治犯ヲ釋放ス。
 - 9、生産技術ヲ向上シ失業セル知識分子ヲ救済ス。
 - 10、朝鮮、臺灣、日本國內ノ工農並ニ一切ノ反日
勢力ヲ糾合シテ強固ナル聯盟ヲ結成スル。中
國ノ民族運動ニ對シテ同情援助ヲ表示シ、獨
意ノ中立ヲ守ル民族或ハ國家トハ密接ナル關
係ヲ作ル。
- 共產黨ハ抗日鬭爭過程ニ於テコレ等ノ綱領ヲ實現
シ、且ツコノ綱領ヲ進シテ黨ノ實現ヲ期セネバ不
ラヌ。

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一九三六年三月十日中共中央北方局ハ中央
中央ノ意ヲ受ケテ「抗日救國宣言」ヲ發表シ
タガ、日本ト直接ノ摩擦點デアル北方カラノ
叫ビデアルコトニヨツテモソノ意義ハ甚大ナ
重要デアアル。ソノ全文ハ以下ノ如クデアアル。

一二、中共中央北方局ノ抗日救國宣言（一九三六、三、一〇）

中國共產黨北方局ハ中國共產黨中央委員會ト
中華ソヴェート中央政府及中國工農紅軍中央
軍事委員會主席宗德、毛澤東ノ委託ヲ受ケ、
全國ノ軍政長官、社會團體、政黨政派、新聞
雜誌及ビ全國工農商學各界同胞及一切ノ愛國
的志士ニ回ツテ宣言ヲナス。

中國共產黨トソヴェート政府ハ、即時代表
ヲ派遣シ、凡ユル抗日ヲ欲スル軍政、政黨、
團體各機關及一切ノ名流學者、政治家ト共ニ
シテ國防政府及抗日聯軍成立ノ同意ヲ談判ス
ル準備ヲ有スル。並ニ上述ノ軍政、政黨、
團體、機關、個人ノ代表ガソヴェート國ニ赴リ
談判ヲ進メン事ヲ希望スル。ソヴェート政府
ト紅軍ハ絶對ニコレ等代表ノ自由ト安全ヲ保
障スルデアラウ。

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- 中國共產黨トソヴェート政府ハ會ツテ下記
ノ國防政府施設綱領ヲ發表シタ。
- 一 抗日救國、失地恢復
 - 二 救済治水、安定民生
 - 三 日本帝國主義ノ在華一切ノ財産一切ヲ沒收
シ、抗日經費ヲ充實ス。
 - 四 漢奸賣國奴ノ財産、糧食、土地ヲ沒收シ、
貧苦ノ同胞及抗日烈士ニ支給ス。
 - 五 苛捐雜稅ヲ廢除シ、財政、金融ヲ整理シ、
工農商業ヲ發展セシム。
 - 六 給料、手當ヲ増加シ、工農軍學各界ノ生活
ヲ改良ス。
 - 七 民主自由ヲ實現シ、一切ノ政治犯ヲ釋放ス。
 - 八 免費教育ヲ實行シ、一切ノ失業、失學青年
ヲ救済ス。
 - 九 中國境內各民族ノ一律平等政策ヲ實行シ、
國內外ニ於ケル同胞ノ生命財産、居住營業
ノ自由ヲ保障ス。
 - 一〇 一切ノ反帝民衆（日本國內ノ勤勞大衆、朝
鮮、臺灣民族）ト聯合シテ友軍トナシ、中
國ノ民族解放運動ニ同情スル各民族ト國家
ト聯合シ、中國民衆ノ反日解放戦争ニ好意

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的中立ヲ標榜スル各民族ト國家友誼關係ヲ
結ブ。

一九三六年六月一日全國各界救國聯合軍が成
立シ、同成立大會ニ於イテ「抗日救國ノ初歩的
政治綱領」が通過サレタ。ソノ内容ハ次ノ如ク
デアル。

一三、抗日救國ノ初歩的政綱綱領（一九三六・六・一）

一 基本組織

民族革命中ノ對外抗爭ニ關シ、過去ニ於イテ
ハ普遍的反帝ヲ主張スルモノモアリ、又先ヅ單
獨ニ反英ヲナスベシト主張スルモノモアリ、又
先ヅ單獨ニ反日スベシト主張スルモノモアツタ
ダガシカシ現在ニ於イテハ一切ノ異レル意見ハ
スベテ、「反日第一」ノ原則ノ下ニ統一セラレ
ルニ至ツタ。反日ノ手段ニ關シ過去ニ於イテハ
戰爭ハ避ケルベキデアルトイフモノモアリ、戰
爭ハ必然デアルト認メタモノモアツタガ、シカ
シ現在デハ一切ノ不同意見ハスベテ「反日戰爭
ハ不可避デアル」トイフ原則ノ下ニ統一セラレ
テ來タノデアル。

二 共同ノ敵人

救國戦線ノ共同ノ敵人ハ、日本帝國主義ト漢奸
デアル。

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三、政治制度

大會ハ、民主制度ノ確立ハ各黨各派ノ徹底融合ノ基本條件デアルト認メル。結社、集會、言論、出版ノ自由ハ聯合以後ノ毫モ譲歩セザル要求デア。我等ハ民衆組織ヲ指導スルトノ名義ヲモツテ民衆組織ヲ消滅シ、輿論ヲ統制スルトノ名義ヲモツテ輿論ヲ消滅スルコトニ對シ斷乎トシテ反對スル。

四、外交

我等ハ民族外交ノ力量ヲ積極的ニ運用シ、全世界ノ反日、反英的人民勢力ヲ聯合セネバナラス。救國戦線ノ力量ヲ發展セシメルト共ニ抗敵戦争ノ勝利ノ把握ヲ確實タラシメネバナラス。

五、教育

大會ハ現在ノ死學ヲ讀ム工兵教育ト、古學ヲ讀ム麻痺教育トハ排惡デアルト認メル。我等ハ速カニ多量ノ青年戦士ガ救國工作ヲ指導シ、救國任務ヲ擔任スルコトヲ必要トシテキル。一故ニ我等ハ救國意識ニ於ケル以外ハイサ、カデモ青年ノ智力ヲ浪費スルコトハ出來ス。青年ノ救國感情ヲ消滅スルコトハ出來ス。

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六 工 商 業

賃ク日賃ヲ益固セネバナラス。

七、 兵 士

直チニソノ待遇ヲ改善スルト共ニ抗敵意識ヲ高
メネバナラスト認メル。

八 勞 工

我等ハ勞工組織ノ即時解放ヲ要求スル。一ソノ
理由ハ一面ニ於イテ日本ノ在華資本壟断下ニアル
數十萬ノ勞工ノ反日反蔣奸闘等ヲ鞏固ニシ、コレ
ニヨツテ消極的ニハ日本資本勢力ノ發展ヲ防止ス
ルト共ニ、積極的ニハ數十萬ノ英雄的戦士ヲ訓練
シ、民族工業ニ對スル日本資本ノ壓迫ヲ解除スル
爲デアル。他面ニ於イテ國家的力量ニヨツテ民族
資本壟系下ノ勞工待遇ヲ改善シ、ソノ生活ヲ保證
シ、ソノ救國意識ヲ高メネバナラス。場合ニヨツ
テ最低勞銀及最長就業時間、最高低工作年齡ヲ規
定シ、工人ニ對スル一切ノ非人道的待遇ト不法壓
迫ヲ取締キ、工人ニ對シテ讀書、談話、集會等救
國ノ自由ヲ與ヘネバナラス。

九 農民 民

大會ハ共同抗日ヲ基礎トスル地主ノ合理的生活
ニ對シテハ、國家ハ之ヲ保證スベキデアルト認メ
ル。

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十、婦 女

我等ハ婦人ハ男子ト同様救國陣線ニ参加スルノ機會ヲ與フベキデアルト主張スル。

十一 國 外 華 僑

大會ハ南洋及歐米各國ノ華僑ハ、速カニソノ組織ヲ強化シ、救國陣線ニ於ケル國際宣傳並ビニ經濟供給ノ巨力タラシムベキデアルト認メル。華僑ノ合法的權益ニ對シテハ保護ヲ加ヘルベキデアル。

大會ハ日本、朝鮮、臺灣在住華僑ハ日本帝國主義ノ嚴重ナル壓迫ヲ受ケテヲリ、反日戦線中ノ最モ斷乎タル分子トナツテキルカラ、組織ヲ有セシムベキデアリ、追ハレテ歸國スルモノハ救済スベキデアルト認メル。

大會ハ國防工業ノ熟練技術ヲ有スル華僑ハ、丁寧ニソノ歸國ヲ促スベキデアルト認メル。侵略國ガ中國ニ於イテ工人ヲ募集スルノハ直チニ制止スベキデアル。

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一九三六年六月十三日、中國共產黨中央委員會ハ「目前ノ政治情勢ニ關スル決議」ナルモノヲ發表シタ、即チソノ時ノ一般情勢ヲ評議シタル外、抗日運動ノ發展ニ關スル指示ヲ與ヘタモノデ、ソノ全文ハ次ノ如クデアル。

一四、中共中央ノ目前ノ政治情勢ニ關スル決議（一九三六。六。一三）

一、我ガ黨ハ抗日統一戦線ノ新策略ヲ執行シテ左ノ如キ好結果ヲ得タ。

第一、昨年十二月九日北平學生ガ救亡運動ヲ起シテ以來廣ク全國ニ抗日救國運動ガ勃興シタ。コノ運動ニ參加スルモノハ唯ニ工人農民ノミナラズ一般學生、士兵、知識階級分子、商店員並ニ一部ノ民族資産階級ニアル。特ニ最近日云帝國主義ガ華北ニ増兵シ、海陸式ノ侵略ヲ勵行スルコトニヨリ、多數ノ商工業者並ニ南京、華北特ニ西南ノ一部統治階級ハ全國民衆ノ抗日救亡運動ニ同情シ、應ニ抗日統一戦線ニ參加シツアル。

日本帝國主義ノ狂暴極マル侵略ト日賊蔣介石ノ無恥ナ賣國並ニ民衆ト反對分子ニ對スル壓迫ハ却ツテ正ニ全國抗日戦線發展ノ可能ヲ此ノ上ニナク強化シ全國ノ抗日救國人民ハ既ニ統一の救亡組織ノ指導ニヨリ反漢奸ノ組織ヲ建設シタ。現ニ華北民衆統中智

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敵階級間ニ於テハ大ナル排衆運動ヲ計登シツ、アル。

二十九軍ノ下級軍官士兵モ極度ニ憤慨シテ如何ナル事アルモ撤兵セズト宣言シ、上級命令ニ服従セザル事ヲ考ヘテキル。敵界ノ個人間テモ既に北平ノ有力者ト如何ナル方法ニ依リ刻下ノ危局ニ處スベキヲ商議シツ、アリ、是スルニ華北ニ於テ偉大ナル武裝抗日運動ヲ發動スルノ可能性ハ充分ニアル、コノ外山西軍、東北軍、四川劉湘ノ部下一部ハ何レモ動搖ノ色顯著テ抗日陣營ニ傾向ノ可能性ガアル。

茲ニ特記セヌバナラヌノハ西南軍政當局ガ一面ニ於テ重大ナル不利益ヲ壓迫ヲ受ケ、一面救亡運動ノ刺激ニヨツテ五月二十六日、日本ノ華北増兵反對ヲ通電シ、六月二日、四日又々南京ニ抗日戰事督促ノ通電ヲ發シ、七日又兩廣軍政ノ名義ヲ「中華民國軍命抗日救國軍第一、四集團軍」ト改稱シタル事ヲ全國ニ通電シ、且ツ即時北上抗日ノ舉ニ出デ、兩廣軍隊ハ現ニ既に湖南ノ衡州ニ向ヒ進發セルコトデアル。

最後ニ特ニ明ニシテオキメイ事ハ我黨、ソヴエート中央ハ昨年八月一日宣言ヲ發シテ一切ノ黨派ト全國人民ニヨリ統一の國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ヲ組織スベキ事ヲ唱導シテ以來、屢々宣言ヲ通電シ内戰停止、全國抗日救國代表大會ノ召集ヲ高唱シ、殊ニ最近我黨トソヴエートノ首領毛澤東及朱德同志モ五月五日通電シテ内戰ノ停止、妥協談判ノ開始、一致對日作

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戦ヲ高唱シム。コレヲノ主張ハ全国各軍隊ノ奮力振
並ニ全国民衆ノ熱烈ニ共鳴スル所トナリ、全国ノ抗
日救國運動ニ對シテモコノ上ナキ督勵トナツタ。今
ヤ陝西、西康ノ抗日紅軍主力ト全國各地ノ紅軍總隊
隊並ニ東北ノ人民革命軍ハ益々順調ニ發展シツ、ア
リ全国抗日軍ノ中心ヲ形成セントシツ、アル。

四、全国的規模ノ反日反漢奸ノ民族戦争ハ日本帝
自主義ノ軍事擴張ヲ遠ク阻ル、西康ニ於テ今日熾
發シタ。今次西康軍政當局ニヨリテ發動サレム戦争
ハ矢シテ純粹ナ軍閥ノ内戦デナク、莫ル程長ノ民族
革命意義ヲ有スル戦争デアルコトヲ認識セバナラ
ス。

ソレハ第一ニ貴州陸軍頭目石ニ反對スル戦争デ
アルガ、今日ノ状態ニ於テ抗日戦争ト反蔣的戦争ヲ
根本的ニ區別スル事ハ不可能デアル。全国民衆ガ反
日統一戦線ノ贊助ト擁護ノ下ニ得ニ我黨ノ新策略ヲ
正確ニ運用スル事ニヨリ今次ノ戦争ヲ眞ノ有力ナル
民族革命ニ發展セシムル事が出來ル。

コノ戦争ノ爆發爾々ルト爆發後々ルヲ問ハズ、我
々ハ最も時宜ニ適シタル方法ヲ採リ、コノ戦争ヲ促
進シ、支持シ、擴大シ、群衆ニ向ツテハ国防政府ト
抗日聯軍組織ノ任務ヲ唱導シ、軍事面ニ、政治面ニ
一切ノ反漢奸ノ全方ヲ動員シ、以テソヴエート人民
共和國ト、抗日紅軍ノ周圍ニ国防政府ト抗日聯軍ヲ
建設セバナラス。

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一八、中共中央政治局ノ抗日救亡運動ノ新形勢ト民主共和國建立ニ關スル決議（一九三六。九。一七）

全國ノ力量ヲ集中シテ日寇ノ侵略ニ抵抗シ、日寇ヲ中國ヨリ驅逐スルタメ、我々ハ一層廣汎ナル民衆力量並ニ一切ノ革命的、意識的ナ純潔分子ヲ獲得セネバナラスノミカ、統治階級中ノ一切ノ可能ナル部分ヲ爭取シテ抗日戰爭ニ參加サセ、抗日民族統一戰線ヲシテ更ニ擴大サセ自己陣營ト力量ヲ増強セネバナラス。國民黨南京政府及ビソノ軍政ヲ推動シテ抗日戰爭ニ參加サセルコトハ全國的ナ、大規模ナ抗日武裝闘争實行ノ必要條件デアアル。但シ、コレハ國民黨南京政府ノ、民族利益ニ違反セル一切ノ錯誤政策ニ對スル嚴重ナ批評ト闘争ヲ怠ルノテハナイ。

共產黨ヲ擴大強化シ共產黨ノ政治上、組織上ノ完全ナル獨立性、内部ノ團結一氣性ヲ保證スルコトハ抗日民族統一戰線ト民主共和國ヲシテ徹底勝利ヲ得セシムル最基本條件デアアル。故ニ「ソ」區内テ就中共「ソ」區内テ黨員ヲ系統的ニ吸收スルコトハ非常ニ必要デアアル。

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二〇、中共中央ト中ソ政府ノ西安事變ニ對スル通電（元六二二九）

南京孔庸元、孫哲生、馮煥章、陳立夫等先生及
ビ國民黨、國民政府諸先生、西安張漢卿、楊虎城
王鼎芳、孫如先生並ニ抗日聯軍西北臨時軍事委員
會諸先生則鑒

西安抗日糾領提出後、全國震動シ、南京ノ「安
内而後攘外」政策ハ再ビ揺クルヲ得ナクナツタ。
平心ニ論ズルニ西安諸公ノ愛國熱心ハ人後ニ落テ
ズ、ソノ主張ハ即時抗日ニアル。而シテ南京政府
ハソノ歩調稍々緩慢デアアルガ親日分子ヲ除ク外、
悉ク抗日ヲ欲スルモノデアリ、内戦發動ヲ希望シ
テキナイ。現在ノ大勢ヲ顧ミルニ抗日ヲ實行スル
ニ非ザレバ國存シ得ズ、マタ一致團結スルニ非ザ
レバ抗日ヲ遂行シ得ズ、内戦ノ堅持ハ自ラ滅亡ヲ
促進スルモノト云ハザルヲ待ナイ。斯カル危急存
亡ノ秋ニ當リ本黨、本政府ハ双方ニ對シ次ノ如キ
條件ヲ提出ス。

一、双方軍隊ハ潼關ヲ以テソノ境界トナスコト。
南京軍ハ陝西省境内ニアツテ和平會議ノ解決ヲ待
ツ。

ニ、南京ヨリ即時和平會議ヲ召集シ、南京、西安

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兩方面ノ代表ノ外、更ニ全國各黨各派各界各軍ニ代表ノ参加方ヲ通知ス。

本黨、本政府モ出席代表ノ派遣ヲ準備ス。

三 和平會議ニ先立ち、各黨各派各界各軍ヨリ抗日救亡草案ヲ提出シ、且ツ蔣介石先生ノ處理問題ヲ討論ス。但シ基本綱領ハ須ク全國團結、一切ノ内訌反對、一致抗日タルベシ。

四 會議場所ハ南京トス。

上述建議ハ現下ノ緊急關頭ヲ解決スル合理且ツ有効ナル方法デアル。南京諸公ガ即時國策ヲ決定シ以テ國家混亂中ニ日寇虐ニ乗ズルヲ免ガレルヲ望ム。且ツ全國人民各黨派ハ當局ノ和平會議召集ヲ督促シ一定國策ヲ討論シ共ニ國難ニ赴クラ望ム。

二一、中共中央ノ中國國民黨三中全會ニ對スル通電（一九三七・一〇）

中國國民黨三中全會諸先生鑒

西安問題和平解決シ國ヲ擧ゲテ慶祝ス。之ニヨリ和平統一、團結禦侮ノ方針實現スルヲ得ベク實ニ國家民族ノ幸福デアル。

コノ日寇猖獗シ、中華民族ノ存亡千鈞一髮ノ秋ニ當リ、本黨ハ貴黨三中全會ガ右方針ニ基ヅキ左記各項ヲ國策トセンコトヲ切望ス。

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- 一 一切ノ内戦停止、國力集中、一致對外
- 二 言論、集會、結社ノ自由、一切ノ政治犯釋放
- 三 各黨、各派、各界、各軍ノ代表會議ヲ召集シ全國人材ヲ集中シテ共同救國ス。
- 四 對日抗戰一切ノ準備工作ヲ迅速ニ完成ス。
- 五 人民生活ヲ改善ス。
- 貴黨三中全會ガ右國策ヲ毅然トシテ決定シ得ルナラバ本黨ハ團結禁侮ノ誠意ヲ表示スルタメ貴黨三中全會ニ左記保證ヲ呈ソルヲ誓フ。
- 一 全國的範圍ニオイテ國民政府軍閥ノ武裝暴動方針ヲ停止ス。
- 二 ソグエイト政府ヲ中華民族特種政府ト改名、紅軍ヲ國民革命軍ト改名シテ直接ニ南京中央政府及ビ軍事委員會ノ指導ヲ受ケル。
- 三 特種政府區域内デハ普遍徹底セル民主制度ヲ實施ス。
- 四 地主ノ土地沒收政策ヲ停止シ、抗日民族統一戰線ノ共同綱領ヲ堅決執行ス。
- 國難日毎ニ繁ク時ハ我ヲ待タズ、本黨ガ國家ニ忠誠ナルコトハ之ヲ天日ニ誓ヒ得ル。諸先生ガ熱心ニ國家ノタメニ本黨ノ請求ヲ許容スルナラバ、全民禁侮救亡ノ統一戰線ハ之ニ依リ實現セン。我

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等ハ同ジク黃帝ノ子孫、同ジク中華民族ノ子女デ
アル。國難ニ直面セルコノ秋、一切ノ既成政見ヲ
拋棄シ親密ニ合作シテ共同奮闘スルコトハ中華民
族ノ最後ノ希望ノ偉大ナル前提デアアル。茲ニ謹ン
デ不毛の地ニ火ヲ種ヲ待テ、民族革命的敬禮ヲ
送ル。

中國共產黨中央委員會

中共ノコノ提案ハ、發表後國民大衆ノ廣汎ナル
贊同ヲ得、且ツ國際的ニモ長大ナル好感ヲ獲得シ
タノデアアル。只一般ノ「愛國」分子ノミナラズ、
國民黨ノ一部領袖間ニモ、大イニコレヲ歡迎スル
モノガアツタ。國民黨ノ中央執行委員馮玉群、張
人傑、李石曾、孫科、鹿鍾麟、石瑛、張知本、石
敬亭、李烈鈞、朱霽青、梁寒操、經亨頤、朱慶齡
何香凝等ハ、三中全會ニ對シ連盟ヲ以テ公開的ニ
孫中山ノ主張セラル「容共」「工農擁護」
ノ三大政策ヲ恢復セヨト云フ提議ヲナシタ。三中
全會ノ左右兩派ハコノ問題ヲ提ツテ激烈ナル論議
ヲ交ヘタカ、シカシ國民黨右派ノ勢力ハ尙依然ト
シテ壓倒的デアツタカラ三中全會ハ對内對外政策
ニ關シ、未ダ徹底的改變ヲ斷行スルコトガデキナ

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K

カツタ。シカノミナラズ、三中全会ハ國共合作ノ
代リニ「赤禍根絶」ノ決議ヲ通過シ、ソノ決議文
ノ中デハ大イニ共產黨ヲ非難シテキル。ダガシカ
シ一九二七年ノ國共分裂以來、國民黨ガソノ中央
執行委員會ニ於イテ。共產黨トノ合作問題ヲ討議
シタコトハ全ク三中全会ヲ以ツテ最初トスル。

二二、中共中央ノ全黨同志ニ告グル書（一九三七・四・一五）

親愛ナル同志タチ！

西安事變ノ和平解決並ニ國民黨三中全会後、中
國革命形勢ハ已ニ一個ノ新段階ニ進入シタ。コノ
段階ノ任務ハ既ニ取得セル國內和平ヲ強化シテ民
主權利ヲ實現シ、對日抗戰ヲ實現スルコトデア
ル所カル任務ノ完成ハ全民族ノ總動員ヲ要スル。我
ガ黨全黨同志ハコレヲ任務ノタメニ最大ノ犧牲的
精神ト堅強ナル意志ヲ以テ鬪爭スルヲ要スル。

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全國人民ヲ喚起シテ抗戰ニ參加サセルタメ、中國
共產黨ハ、必ズ目前ノ情況ニ建ツキ各階級、各階層
ノ切實ナル經濟、政治、文化利益ヲ代表セル綱領ヲ
提出セバサラス、且ツ之ヲ綱領ヲ具體的ニ實
施スルタメ奮闘セバサラス。斯カル綱領ノ具體的
實施ハ民族革命勝利ノ主要利益爭取ヲ妨害セズ、ミ
カ、コノ利益ノタメニ之ヲ綱領ノ實施ガ切ニ必要テ
アル。本黨ハ階級利益ト民族利益ヲ對立セシムル觀
點ニ反對スル。中國民族ノ徹底解放ハ、中國工人、
農民、小資產階級ノ崇高利益ヲサクルヲ指稱スル。但
シ本黨ハ彼等ノ生活ヲ必ズ改善スベキナル。改善
サレテコソ之ヲ民族解放闘争ノ勝利ノ展開ガ容易
デアルト認メル。

新ナル形勢ハ全黨同志ガ最大ノ政治的機微ト緊密
ナル注意ヲ以テ全世界、全中國ノ政治問題ニ注望シ
狭小ナル局部的觀點ト勢利主義ヨリ解放サレルコト
ヲ要求シテキル。我黨同志ガ「マルクス」、「レーニン」
「スターリン」的方法ヲ以テ當時當地ノ具體環境ヲ細
心ニ分析シ、人民は衆ノ要求ニ耳ヲ傾テ、適當ナル
主張、策略、「スロ・ガン」ヲ提出シ、政治經濟ソ
ノ他各地方面ノ問題ヲ慎重正確ニ解決スルコトヲ要
求シテキル。「マルクス」、「レーニン」、「スター
リン」主義ノ原則ハ必ズ之ヲ具體化シテ行動ノ指南

Ref Doc 780

針タラシメネバナラス。甲國共產黨が目前ノ革命運
動ヲ正ニ指導スルト谷トハ今次大革命が勝利スル
ヤ谷ヤノ運命ヲ決定スルコトヲ銘記セヨ。

同年七月七日盧溝橋事變が爆發シタ。中共ハ盧溝
橋事變ノ二日目ニ通電ヲ發表シ「全民族的抗戰實行」
ヲ主張シタ。ソノ内容ハ次ノ如クデアル。
二三、甲共ノ日軍盧溝橋進攻ニ關スル通電

(一九三七。七。八)

全國各新聞社、團體、軍隊、中國國民黨、國民政
府、軍事委員會並ニ全國同胞タテ

本月七日夜十時、日本軍ハ盧溝橋ヲ中國陸軍馮玉
祥部隊ヲ攻撃シ馮部隊ノ長辛店ヘノ退却ヲ求メタガ
馮部隊ハコレヲ聽カズ衝突が發生シタ。現在尙ホ双
方對戰中デアル。

日寇ノ盧溝橋ニ於ケル野カル挑戰行動が遂ニ大規
模ナル侵略戰爭ニマデ擴大スルカ、或ハ外交壓迫係
件ヲ造成シ以テ將來ノ侵略戰爭ヘノ導入ヲ期スルカ
ニ拘ラズ、平津ト華北ハ日寇ニ武裝侵略サレル危險
ガアリ、頗ル切迫シテキル。コノ危險ナル形勢ハ我
タニ物語ル——過去ノ日本帝國主義ノ對華「新認識」
「新政策」ノ宣言ハ中國ヘノ新タル進攻準備ノ煙

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幕ニ過キテカツタト。中國共產黨ハ既ニ早クカラ全
國同胞ニコノ點ヲ指摘シテキル。今ヤ煙幕ハ既ニ取
除カレタ。日本帝國主義ノ平津華北武力侵略ノ危險
ハ既ニスベテノ中國人ノ面前ニアル。

全中國ノ同胞ヨ！中華民族今ヤ危急！全民族
ガ抗戰ヲ實行スルコトコソ我々ノ出路ダ。我々ハ進
攻セル日本軍ニ即時回撃タル反撃ヲ與ヘ、新タナル
大暴變ニ應ズベク、即時準備スルヲ要求ス。全國上
下直テニ日寇トノ和平苟安ノ希望、評價ヲ放棄スベ
キデアル。

全中國ノ同胞タヂ！我々ハ馮治安部ノ英勇抗戰ヲ
讃揚擁護スベキデアル。我々ハ華北省局ノ、國土ト
存亡ヲ共にスルトノ宣言ヲ讃揚擁護スベキデアル。
我々ハ宋哲元將軍ガ全二十九軍ヲ即時動員シ、前線
ニ出動、應戦スルヲ要求ス。我々ハ南京中央政府ガ
即時且ツ切實ニ二十九軍ヲ援助スルヲ要求スルト共
ニ、全國民衆ノ愛國運動ヲ解放シ、抗戰的意氣ヲ發
揚シ、全國海陸空軍ヲ動員シ、應戦ヲ準備シ、中國
ニ潛伏セル漢奸賣國賊分子、一切ノ日寇「スバイ」
ヲ即時肅清シ、後方ヲ鞏固トナスヲ要求ス。我々ハ
全國人民ガ神聖ナル抗日自衛戰爭ヲ全力援助スルヲ
要求ス。我々ノ口號左ノ如シ。

武裝保衛天津、保衛華北

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日本帝國主義ニ寸土タリトモ中國ヲ侵略サセルナ！
國土保衛ノタメ我々ノ一滴ノ血ヲ流セ！全中國同
胞、政府ト軍は團結シテ、民族統一戰線ノ鞏固長城
ヲ建立シ、日寇ノ侵略ニ抵抗セヨ！
國共兩黨親密ニ合作シテ日寇ノ新進攻ニ抵抗セヨ！
日寇ヲ中國カラ驅逐セヨ！

中共中央委員會

Abf Doc 380

中共中央ハ八月十五日附ヲ以テ「一切ノ力量ヲ動員シ、抗戦ノ勝利ヲ爭取スルタメニ闘争スル所ノ一切ノ困難ヲ克服スルモノヲ發表シタ。即チ左ノ如クデアル。

二五、中共ノ抗日救國十大綱領（一九三七、八、一五）

一 打倒日本帝國主義

日本ニ對シ絶交シ、日本官憲ヲ驅逐シ、日本ノ探偵ヲ逮捕シ、日本ノ中國ニ於ケル財産ヲ沒收シ、日本ニ對スル借款ヲ否認シ、中日條約ヲ廢除シ、華北ト沿海各地ヲ保衛スルタメ血戦シ、平津ト東北ヲ收復スルタメ血戦シ、日本帝國主義ヲ中國ヨリ驅逐シ、如何ナル勦滅、妥協ニモ反對ス。

二、全國軍隊ノ總動員

全國陸海空軍ヲ動員シ、全國抗戦ヲ實行シ、單純防禦ノ消極的作戰方針ニ反對シ、獨立自主ノ積極的作戰方針ヲ採用シ、經常的國防會議ヲ建立シ、國防計畫ト作戰方針ヲ討論、決定シ、人民ヲ武装シ、遊撃戦争ヲ發展シ、主力軍ノ作戰ニ配合セシメ、軍隊ノ政治工作ヲ改革シ、指揮員ト戰鬥員ヲ一致ニシセシメ、軍隊ノ積極性ヲ發揚セシメ、東北人民革命軍、東北義勇軍ヲ援助シテ敵人ノ後方ヲ破壞シ、一切ノ抗戦軍隊ノ平等ナル待遇ヲ實現シ、全國各地ノ軍隊ヲ建立シ、全民ヲ動員シテ參戰セシメ、以ツテ兵役制度ヲシテ義務兵役制ニ改變セシム。

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三、全國人民ノ總動員

全國人民ハ漢奸ヲ除ク外、スベテ抗日救國ノ言論、出版、集會、結社及武裝抗日ノ自由ヲ有シ、人民ノ愛國運動ヲ束縛スル一切ノ法令ヲ廢除シ、一切ノ愛國的、革命的政治犯人ヲ釋放シ、黨禁ヲ開放シ、全國人民ヲ動員シテ抗戰ニ參加セシメ、力アルモノハ力ヲ出シ、錢アル者ハ錢ヲ出シ、鐵砲ヲ有スル者ハ鐵砲ヲ出シ、知識アル者ハ知識ヲ出ス、コトヲ實行シ、蒙民、國民及其他一切ノ少数民族ヲ動員シ、民族自決ノ原則ノ下ニ共同抗戰ス。

四、政治機構ノ改革

眞ニ人民ヲ代表スル國民大會ヲ召集シ、眞正ノ民主的憲法ヲ通過シ、抗日救國方針ヲ決定シ、國防政府ヲ選舉シ、國防政府ハ須ラク各黨各派及人民團體ノ革命分子ヲ吸收シ、親日分子ヲ驅逐ス。國防政府ハ、民主集中制ヲ採用シ、民主的デアリシカモ又集中的デアアル。國防政府ハ抗日救國ノ革命政策ヲ執行シ、地方自治ヲ實行シ、貪官汚吏ヲ削除シ、廉潔政府ヲ建立ス。

五、抗日ノ外交政策

領土、主權ヲ喪失セザル範圍ニ於テ、日本ノ侵略ニ反對スル凡ユル國家ト反侵略的同盟及抗日軍事互助協定ヲ訂立シ、和平陣線ヲ擁護シ、日獨伊ノ侵略陣線ニ反對ス。朝鮮、臺灣及日本國內ノ工農人民ヲ

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聯合シ日本帝國主義ニ反對ス。

六、戦時ノ財政經濟政策

財政々策ハ、錢アルモノハ錢ヲ出スコト及漢奸ノ財産ヲ沒收シテ抗日軍ニ充當スルコトヲ以ツテ原則トナシ、經濟政策ハ、國內ノ生産ヲ整頓擴大シ、農民經濟ヲ發展セシメ、戦時農村生産品ノ自給ヲ保障シ、國貨ヲ提倡シ、土産ヲ改良シ、日貨ヲ禁絶シ、奸商及投機操縱ヲ取締ルコトヲ要スル。

七、人民生活ノ改良

工人、農民、職員、教員及抗日軍人ノ待遇ヲ改善シ、抗日軍人ノ家族ヲ優待シ、苛捐雜稅ヲ廢除シ、減租減息シ、失業ヲ救済シ、糧食ヲ調節シ、災荒ヲ賑濟ス。

八、抗日ノ教育政策

教育ノ舊制度、舊課程ヲ改變シ、抗日救國ヲ以ツテ目標トスル新制度新課程ヲ實行シ、普遍的、義務的、免費的、教育方策ヲ實施シ、人民ノ民族的覺醒ノ程度ヲ高メ、愛國學生ノ武裝訓練ヲ實行ス。

九、漢奸、賣國賊、親日派ヲ肅清シ後方ヲ鞏固ニス。

十、抗日ノ全民族ハ國共兩黨ノ徹底的合作ノ基礎ノ上ニ團結シ、全國各黨、各派、各軍ノ抗日民族線ヲ建立シ、抗日戰爭ヲ指導シ、精誠團結共ニ國難ニ赴ク。

中國共產黨中央委員會

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二六、中共中央ノ目前ノ形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ關スル決議（一九三七。八。一五）

八、共產黨員ノ指導スル所ノ民衆ト武装勢力ハ積極的ニ國爭ノ最前線ニ立テ、自己ヲ以ツテ全國抗戰ノ核心トナシ、強大ナル力量ヲ以テ抗日ノ群衆運動ヲ發展セシメネバナラヌ。一刻ノ時間モ怠ラス、一個ノ機關ハ群衆組織武装群ノ中ニ至ツテ宣傳シ、只直チニ千百萬群衆ヲ組織シテ抗日民族統一戦線ニ参加セシメルナラ、抗日戰爭勝利ハ何等疑フ餘地ハナイノデアル。（一九三七
年八月十五日）

Def. Doc. 980-A-0

Certificate

I hereby certify that the book entitled "The History of the People's United Anti-Japanese Front Movement", written in Japanese, consisting of 414 pages and published by the Investigation Department of the South Manchurian Railway Company, was obtained in Tokyo and has been kept by myself.

On this 10th day of March, 1947

At Tokyo

SAITO, Yoshie (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the witness.

At the same place

On the same date

Witness: IMANARI, Yasutaro (seal)

On April 26, 1932, the Provisional Government of the Soviet China, announced its first declaration of war against Japan and also its declaration to the people. The full texts were as follows:

Text of Declaration of War Against Japan by the Provisional Government of Soviet China

Since Japanese imperialism forcibly took with armed force the three Eastern Provinces on September 18, 1931, it has further occupied Shanghai and other areas with its army and navy; it has stormed into towns and cities along the China Sea and the Yangtse River; it has massacred the Chinese people with airplanes and guns; it has burned down Chinese houses. Untold damage has been done in the North-east regions, Shanghai and Woosung. Massacres have been many and even now are going on. The anti-revolutionary National Government together with the various military cliques associated with it have offered the three Eastern Provinces and Shanghai to Japanese imperialism, in accordance with its habitual practice of submitting to imperialism, and is abandoning the Chinese people to be massacred at will. At present it is engaged through peace negotiations to sell China wholesale and is facilitating the speedy imperialistic division of China. Every means is being taken by it to suppress the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialistic movements throughout the country. It is liquidating all anti-Japanese organizations, suppressing anti-Japanese strikes, massacring people who are anti-Japan, forcing soldiers and volunteers fighting actively on the Shanghai front against Japan to withdraw. It has shot the brave soldiers of the 19th Route army with machine guns for their refusal to withdraw.

By such means the National Government is manifesting its loyalty to imperialism. Such slogans as the so-called "Long-term resistance" and "Negotiations on the one hand, resistance on the other" used by the Kuomintang Government and their military cliques are nothing more than trickery to delude the people. The Soviet areas in China are now entirely free from the restraints of imperialism. On the other hand, however, the Kuomintang military cliques, daring to offer the three Eastern Provinces, Shanghai and all of China to imperialism, are constantly attacking with their maximum military force the Workers-Peasant Red Army which is truly endeavoring to carry out the people's revolution, thus planning to overthrow the Soviet regime. All the deception of the Kuomintang military cliques, all their plots to sell out China and all acts of outrage against the Chinese people are all actually imperialism's tool to suppress the Chinese revolution and obstacles to the development of the people's revolution. The Provisional Central Government of the Republic of Soviet China hereby declares war against Japan. Heading all the Workers-Peasant Armies of China and the many oppressed people, it will by means of the people's revolutionary war, expel Japanese imperialism from China and oppose imperialism's territorial division of China. It demands the thorough emancipation and independence of the Chinese people.

To all the workers, peasants, soldiers and all the oppressed masses, the Provisional Central Republican Government declares that they shall immediately carry out the people's war of revolution, immediately fight against Japanese imperialism and first of all tear down the reactionary administration of the Kuomintang which suppresses popular revolutionary movements and obstructs the people's war of revolution.

On April 15, 1933, the Central Provisional Government of Soviet China and the Revolutionary and Military Committee of the Red Army announced a declaration of anti-Japanese collaboration under joint signature. They especially presented three conditions for a compromise to the National Government.

These were (a) immediate suspension of attacks against the Soviet areas and the Red Army; (b) immediate granting to the people of the democratic freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association and demonstration; (c) granting of freedom to organize and arm an anti-Japanese volunteer army. The full text of the declaration is as follows:

The Declaration of Anti-Japanese Collaboration by the Government of Soviet China (April 15, 1933)

People of all China! On the occasion of May Day, we pay revolutionary homage to all the working masses of China, to the workers, farmers and people of the cities who are under the bloody administration of the imperialistic nationalists, to the White Army soldiers who have been forced to oppose the workers and farmers, to the revolutionary students and youths who are taking part in the struggle against imperialism and to the revolutionary prisoners who have been locked up and tortured in hundreds and thousands of Kuomintang prisons.

The continuing attacks of Japanese imperialism, the unprecedented enlargement of the crisis of territorial division and the intensification of danger to the masses have made it imperative for us to issue the following declaration to the people fighting for the benefit of China and to the working masses:

The features of the present situation is characterized on the one hand by the fact that Japanese imperialism has invaded the Peiping-Tientsin area with big strides with nothing to stop it, and on the other hand, by the fact that British imperialism is making an attack upon Sinkiang Province and is carrying on the occupation of the western regions of China, through the intermediation of Tibet and other puppet states already under the control of the British Empire.

By secret negotiations between the Japanese Government and the Kuomintang Party, Chiang-kai-Shek has started dealings with the imperialistic burglars. Tang Yu-Jen, secretary of the Central Political Council of the Party, as a representative of the Nanking Government and Chiang-kai-Shek, has had a secret talk with the Japanese representatives at Shanghai. Chiang-kai-Shek, the leader of Chinese laborers and farmers, requested of the Japanese militarists in 1929 the occupation of Shantung. In 1931, he committed the wholesale massacre of inoffensive people of Shanghai, abandoned the northern front and further gave the Japanese a good chance to invade Jehol. Not only did they not fight against Japanese imperialism, but they continued the work of their traitorous colleague, Chang Hsueh-liang. The south-western

government and the Fukien military cliques also did not oppose Japan and its imperialism. The slogan, "Northward Resistance Against Japan", which they have recently been propagandizing with might and main is nothing more than a fairy tale to deceive the people. They are primarily absorbed in the enlargement of their sphere of influence and are challenging the Soviet Union and the Chinese Red Army.

The traitorous rascals, Chiang-kai-Shek and Wang Ching-wei, noting the recent great victory of the Red Army and the unrest and indignation among the front line soldiers, have again hung up such militaristic propaganda slogans as "To purge the Reds is to resist Japan", "Before the purge, no anti-Japanese movement", etc., and are endeavoring to prevent the soldiers and the masses from turning to revolutionary action. However, such deception and threats can never be successful. On the contrary, it would rather serve to expose their own sins and short-comings.

In the face of the recent situation and the inevitability of our future victory, we must repeat our old proposition made last January and blow away the lamentations of the Kuomintang which says, "the Red army as well as the workers and farmers in the Soviet area obstruct the effectiveness of the resistance against Japanese imperialism." In the light of this proposition, we recognize the need to resist Japan and all imperialistic aggression. By so repeating, we shall be proclaiming and disseminating our proposition again to the whole nation. Under the conditions as stated below, the Chinese Red Army is prepared to enter into an operational agreement with any armed force and to resist the invasion of Japanese imperialism.

- A. The instant suspension of attacks upon Soviet areas.
- B. The immediate protection of the Democratic Rights of the People (Freedom of assembly, association, speech, publication and demonstration and the emancipation of political criminals)
- C. To wrest back China's independence, unity and territorial integrity and thereby protect and preserve China by immediately arming the people and creating armed volunteer corps.

On July 15, 1934, the Chinese Red Army issued the following "Proclamation of anti-Japanese resistance in the Northern Territory". Needless to say it was intended to turn the internal conflict into a foreign war.

"The Proclamation of anti-Japanese resistance in the Northern territory of the Chinese Workers and Farmers' Red Army" (July 15, 1934)

Workers, farmers, soldiers and the revolutionary masses of all China! Malignant Japanese imperialism has swallowed our three Eastern provinces, invaded Jehol and Inner Mongolia and has just plundered the whole of North China. Also in South China, their land, naval and air forces have deliberately planned the occupation of Fukien province. They are about to make China a colony of Japanese imperialism, its people a ruined nation and thus submit them eternally to massacre, rape, pillage and outrage by Japanese bandits. The Kuomintang military clique, including Chiang-kai-Shek and Cheng Hsueh-liang, when confronted with Japan's imperialistic invasion, have sold out the Eastern Provinces of Jehol and Inner Mongolia, persistently following the policy of surrender and of selling their own country. They have recognized "Manchukuo" by entering into a communication and transportation agreement directly with "Manchukuo". They also have sold out all of North China and Fukien Province. Furthermore, they have abetted Japanese imperialism and suppressed anti-Japanese popular movements of the Chinese masses. They have suppressed guerrilla warfares of the anti-Japanese volunteer army as well as boycotts of the Japanese goods. They recruited more than one million troops from the country under the pretext of "shortage of manpower in the resistance against Japan" and wasted 10,000,000 yuan to collect every available gun and airplane, with which to carry on the encirclement and extermination of the Soviet government and the Red Army of Workers and Farmers, the only organizations in the whole country which aim at resisting Japan and imperialism. All these facts tend to show that the Kuomintang's military cliques are the most faithful watch dogs of Japanese imperialism as well as spies and traitors without any precedents in China's history. The Red army of the government of Soviet China stressed time and again the need of arming the people of China and of the war for national revolution in order to cope with the incessant aggression of Japanese imperialism.

The Red Army of Workers and Farmers also made known to the public its declaration of war against Japan and issued an emergency mobilization order to mobilize the whole population within the Soviet district as a means of preparing directly for a war against Japanese imperialism. The Soviet government and the Red Army of Workers and Farmers further issued a proclamation demanding: (1) cessation of the attack against the Red Army and the Soviet area; (2) fundamental democratic rights of the people; i.e., freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, strike and demonstration; (3) rapid arming and equipping of the people and establishment of the anti-Japanese volunteer "mob" Army which would be willing to enter into combat agreements with any armed forces in China subject to the three conditions necessary for the security of China. They opposed the Tangku agreement, the direct

negotiations between Japan and China, the recognition of Manchukuo, a puppet country of Japan, as well as the selling out of China by the Kuomintang Party. They publicly assisted all the anti-imperialistic revolutionary movements in all China including that of the North-Eastern anti-Japanese Volunteer Army and opposed all the restrictions on the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialistic movements imposed by the imperialistic Kuomintang Party.

Whereas it is time to engage a decisive battle with the powerful Kuomintang army, the Soviet government and the Red Army, overcoming myriad difficulties and with a great resolve, despatched anti-Japanese vanguards to the North to let them fight against Japan. Our main force will follow our vanguards and will cooperate with whatever troops that may accept the three conditions we have set up in the fight against Japan.

All people of China! The vanguards for the anti-Japanese resistance in the northern territory of the Red Army of the Workers and Farmers must gladly cooperate with all people and armies of China in fighting against Japan, wage war for a national revolution and bring about the downfall of Japanese imperialism. All those who oppose Japan should assist our vanguards for the anti-Japanese resistance in the northern territory, unite around them and arm themselves by joining our vanguards in order to wage a decisive battle against the imperialistic Japanese bandits. All people who resist Japan are equally our partners. Let them unite! All those who prohibit and oppress the anti-Japanese activities of individual citizens, organizations and troops are wicked traitors who, therefore, should be overthrown by our united efforts. Only through an armed national revolutionary war shall we be able to defeat Japan and its imperialism and achieve the independence and emancipation of the Chinese race and secure the integrity of the Chinese territory.

The Soviet Government and the Red Army of the Workers and Farmers further proclaim their determination to win the victory in the revolutionary war in a concrete form.

1. We definitely oppose the National Government's selling out of the Eastern three provinces, Jehol, Inner Mongolia, North China and Fukien province, Sino-Japanese direct negotiations and the recognition of Manchukuo. We must abandon the delusion of expecting aid from the League of Nations, which is nothing but a group of imperialistic burglars and from the United States.

2. We should immediately declare the severance of diplomatic relations with Japan, abrogate the Tangku agreement and all the Sino-Japanese secret treaties, mobilize the land, sea and air forces of all China to carry out a war against Japan, demand the immediate suspension of the attacks against and blockade of the Soviet district and let the Red Army of the Workers and Farmers prosecute freely a direct war against Japanese imperialism.

3. All people of China should be called together and armed with all the equipment in the Nationalist armory and arsenal as well as see that arms that have been imported are formed into a popular volunteer anti-Japanese army as well as

guerrilla units and made to participate in the anti-Japanese war and in guerrilla warfare and aid the northern anti-Japanese vanguards of the north eastern volunteer army and the Chinese Peasant's Red Army.

4. All enterprises and property of the Japanese imperialists and traitors will be confiscated. The payment of national debts both principal and interests shall be discontinued. Progressive taxes shall be levied and all war funds of the Kuomintang party shall be appropriated for the anti-Japanese war fund.

5. Anti-Japanese societies, anti-Japanese boycott committees, committees for collecting funds for the aid of the volunteer army and the Red Army and various civil anti-Japanese organizations such as anti-Japanese scout units, the traffic destruction units, propaganda units, and transport units shall be organized throughout the country. General masses, including all people irrespective of sex, age, religion or political belief, shall be absorbed into the anti-Japanese organizations and shall oppose the aggression of Japanese imperialism and the treason and capitulation of the Kuomintang government by means of strikes and demonstrations.

The Soviet government and the Red Army of the Workers and Farmers will fight for the foregoing platform notwithstanding any sacrifices. They demand that all the people make utmost efforts for the full realization of this platform. Let the Kuomintang Party, the watch-dog of imperialism and its followers say that "China has not the power to resist Japan." Only through the organization, mobilization and arming of all Chinese people for resisting Japan can we overthrow Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang party, which is a group of traitorous spies.

The Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China
President Mao Tse-tung
Vice President Hsiang Ying
The Revolutionary Military Committee of the China
Workers and Farmers' Red Army
President Chu Teh
Vice President Chou En-lai

Wang Chia-chiang

In the summer of 1935, a series of incidents in violation of the Umezu-Ho-Wang-Ching agreement occurred in quick succession. These motivated the formation of the neutral zone east of Langhsien, under the leadership of Lin Ju-hang. Thereupon on 1 August the same year, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a declaration entitled, "A Message to all Our Compatriots to Oppose the Japanese and to Save Our Country". It is a very famous declaration known as the "8. 1. Declaration". The full text of it is as follows:

A message to all our compatriots to oppose the Japanese and to save our country issued by the Chinese Communists 1 August 1935.

To our brethren in various fields of industry, agriculture, military, politics, commerce, and learning!

That with the energetic advance of Japanese imperialism and what with the gradual surrender of the traitorous Nanking Government, our North China provinces are on the brink of actual destruction following upon that of the North-Eastern four provinces. For fact, the Ling-hsien area with several thousand years of classical culture, Hopei, Shantung and Henan provinces with infinite natural resources, and Chahar and Suiyuan districts, which are most significant from the military standpoint as well as such political and economic life lines as Peiping-Nanking, Peiping-Tientsin, Tientsin-Pekow and Peiping-Suiyuan Railways, are now completely under the restrictions of the Japanese Army. At present the Kwantung Army Headquarters is positively carrying out their plan for the establishment of the so-called "Mongolian State" or "North China State". After the 18 September Incident in 1931, they actually took possession of various areas beginning with the eastern three provinces and then Jehol, the Great Wall, the Disarmed Area East of Langhsien, Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan and various provinces in North China. In less than four years, almost all the areas had been either occupied or invaded by the Japanese invaders. The program for the total destruction of China, which General Manda submitted to the Emperor, is now being steadily carried into effect. At this date the provinces on the river plains of Chang-ling and Chu-ling, as well as various other provinces, will also be occupied by and by. Our country with its long history of five thousand years will be transformed into a conquered state and our 440,000,000 brethren will then be a wretched mass of defeated people. In recent years, our people have been at the crossroads of life or death. If they choose to be anti-Japanese, they will be saved but if not, they will die. To oppose the Japanese whereby to save our country has now become a holy mission for everyone of our brethren. At this moment, it is most deplorable that there still remain among our great people a few beastly fellows. Traitors such as Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wok, and Ching Tsueh-liang, as well as such spy agents of the Japanese as Huang Wu, Wang Yung-tai, Wang I-tung, and Chang Chun, advocating a "non-resistance" policy, have sold out our country and have acceded to all the demands presented by the Japanese. They have also prosecuted the civil war, with the militaristic propaganda that exclusion of foreigners must needs be preceded by internal peace. They have further suppressed all the anti-imperialistic movements and advocating such delusive slogans as "ten years of public welfare", "ten years of cultural improvement" and "preparation for

revenge" they have checked the people's "Oppose the Japanese and Save the Country" movements. The open and shameless conducts in recent years of these knavish traitorous fellows with such slogans as "Sino-Japanese Friendship", "Sino-Japanese cooperation", "Great Asia Principle" etc. are the most preposterous conducts ever heard of in history. The Soviet Government and the Communists in China regard the Japanese aggressions against China and the treacherous action of the knavish traitors as the worst disgrace to the Chinese people. We, members of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party in China solemnly declare as follows. We oppose and protest most strongly not only against Japan's territorial invasion and internal political interference but also against the Japanese demands for the dissolution of the Kuomintang Party and the Blue Shirts Organization.

It is the point of view of the Soviet Government and the Communists that all the Chinese affairs ought to be settled by the Chinese themselves. However great may be the faults committed by the Nationalists, the Japanese have no right whatsoever to meddle in the question of whether or not these should be eliminated. China is our fatherland. So long as we are Chinese we are brothers. How can we remain idle lookers-on when our country and our people are on the brink of ruin. We cannot help coming forward to save our country and our own selves. The Abyssinians though theirs is a small country with a population of only 8,000,000 are striving to defend their own country and their people by offering a heroic armed resistance against Italian imperialism. Why is it then, that we of a great country of 440,000,000 people should await our ruin with folded arms?

The Soviet Government and the Communist Party in China firmly believe that except a small number of knavish traitors such as Chang Ching-hui, Cheng Hsiao-hao, Chang Wen-ching, Lu Yi, etc., the majority of our brethren in various fields of industry, agriculture, military, politics, commerce, and learning would never allow themselves to become slaves to the Japanese. The declaration of war against Japan by the Soviet Government; various armies' anti-Japanese common resistance repeatedly proposed by the Red Army; bitter fighting by the anti-Japanese vanguard of the northward advancing Red Army; the decisive battle at Sung-hu between the 19th Route Army and the general populace; the heroic struggle of soldiers and people at Chahar along the Great Wall and in various districts east of Langhsien; the united resistance against Japan by the Fuchian People's Government, in accordance with a proposal by the Red Army; sacrifice of lives by national heroes such as Lo Tenghsien, Hso-Minhung, Chi-Hunchan, Fang Lungchong, Shun-Weichon, Tang Chih-ming, etc. the imprisonment of anti-Japanese patriots such as Tien Pan, Tu Chung-yuan, Liu Chung-wu, etc; the anti-Japanese resistance of Tsai-Ting-kai, Chang Kuang-ting, Cheng Ning-su, Tang Chen-wu, etc; the basic operations plans for the Chinese People's anti-Japanese resistance signed by several thousand people, including Sung Ching-ling, Ho Hsiang-yu, Liu, Ia Hsiang-so, etc; national salvation movements carried out by all classes of people, such as boycotts, walk-outs in factories, offices and schools; demonstrations, and in particular anti-Japanese armed resistance by some hundreds of thousand people in the North-east; the heroic anti-Japanese uprisings led by such national heroes as Wang Ching-yu, Chao Hsiang-chih, Chou Kuo-chung, Hsieh Wen-tung, etc; are all expressions of

our people's grand spirit for national salvation and will inspire our people to be victorious in their anti-Japanese national salvation movement, that even now the various attempts of our people to save our country by opposing the Japanese have not yet achieved victory which they fully deserve is firstly due to the attacks from both flanks by the Japanese Army and the Chiang Army and secondly due to the discord and disunity arising out of isolation and misunderstanding among the various anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang groups. Hence, the Soviet Government and the Communist Party hereby stress the pressing need for the formation of the anti-Japanese joint front and further appeal as follows their brethren throughout the country. Even though various political parties at present as in the past are at variance with one another in their views and interests; and even though various armies are at present as in the past, hostile towards one another, it is necessary for all of us to come to the true realization of "avoiding the outward danger in spite of the interior strife." We must first of all suspend all the internal strifes, rise above all sorts of differences, and concentrate our entire national strength (man-power, material power, financial potentiality, military strength, etc.) upon our fight for the achievement of our holy mission to save our country through opposing the Japanese. The Soviet Government and the Communist Party in China once more declare as follows:

The Nationalists must at once stop attacking the Soviet area and all their troops must make preparations for a war against Japan. It is the desire of the Red Army not to persist in any feeling of enmity existing between the Nationalist Army and the Red Army either at present or in the past, not to persist in any differences regarding internal politics, but immediately to rise above all disputes and, closely cooperating with each other, to save the country through joint effort.

We take a step further and cordially appeal to you as follows. All compatriots who do not want to be a defeated people! All the compatriots who do not want to be a defeated people! All patriotic and conscientious officers and soldiers! Brethren! All comrades of various parties and organizations who desire to join in the holy mission of saving the country by opposing the Japanese! All hot-blooded youths of the Kuangtong Party and the Blue Shirts Society, who have contributed to the racial consciousness! All brothers who are interested in their fatherland! All brothers of the oppressed peoples Han's, Koreans, Mongolians, Tibetans, Yao's, Miao's, Kuo's, Lis, Fang's, etc. in China!

Let us come forward bravely to break through the pressure of the Japanese and Chiang armies, unite the Chinese Soviet Government and various anti-Japanese regimes in the Northeast into one national defensive government, and also unite the Red Army, the Peoples' Revolutionary Army in the Northeast, and the anti-Japanese volunteers corps in various parts of the country into one national anti-Japanese volunteers army.

The Soviet Government and the Communist Party wish to sponsor the establishment of such a national defensive government. We Soviet Government and the Communist Party will at once negotiate with various parties, organizations such as industrial and agricultural organizations, students' societies, commercial organizations, educational associations, journalists' federations, teachers' federations, Chinese merchants' associations, well-known scholars, politicians, Racial Self-Defense Association, Anti-Japanese Society, Fatherland Society, etc. and all the local

military administration organs upon the question of the joint establishment of a national defensive government. In our opinion the national defense government thus established must of necessity be a temporary organ of guidance for the plans of national salvation and a representative organ made up of representatives elected on democratic terms by people in various fields of industry, agriculture, military, politics, commerce, and learning, by all parties and organizations anxious to save the country by opposing the Japanese, by the Chinese abroad; and by various races within the country, of all compatriots, and various matters concerning the anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation movement shall be made subjects of discussion in the government. The Soviet Government and the Communist Party will spare no efforts or assistance in assembling this people's organ and will execute without fail, any decision reached by the organ because the Soviet Government and the Communist Party absolutely respect the people's will. The main responsibility of the National Defensive Government is to save the country through opposing the Japanese and its policies include the following points:

- a. To save the country through opposing the Japanese. Restore lost territories.
- b. To prevent disasters. To embank rivers. To protect people's lives.
- c. All the imperialistic Japanese properties in China shall be confiscated and be appropriated to war expenses against Japan.
- d. All properties, provisions, and land belonging to knavish traitors shall be confiscated and shall be not only distributed among the poor but also appropriated to anti-Japanese war expenses.
- e. Heavy and arbitrary taxes shall be abolished and there shall be economic and financial adjustment in order to promote industry, agriculture and commerce.
- f. Through an increase in salaries, the living conditions of people in various fields of industry, agriculture, military, politics, commerce, and learning shall be improved.
- g. Liberty based upon democracy shall be enforced and all political criminals released.
- h. Free education shall be given to youth out of work.
- i. The policy of according equal treatment to all races living in China shall be carried out. Life, property, freedom of residence, and freedom of education shall be guaranteed either within or outside the country, for the Chinese living abroad and for other races living in China.
- j. All anti-imperialistic people including working classes in Japan, and colonials in Korea and Formosa shall be united and made allies, all peoples and states in sympathy with the movement for the liberation of the Chinese people shall be united. Friendship shall be established with peoples and states that will, with good intentions, remain neutral in our war against Japan.

k. Anti-Japanese united forces shall be organized by all the troops that aim at saving the country through opposing the Japanese. Under the leadership of the National Defensive Government, the General Headquarters of the Anti-Japanese United Forces shall be established. This Headquarters shall be organized by the representatives elected from among the anti-Japanese chiefs, officers and soldiers of various armies or by some other method. In any case they will be chosen with the approval of representatives of various groups, as well as with the approval of the common people. The Red Army shall take the lead in joining the united forces and shall endeavor to fulfil their mission of saving the country through opposing the Japanese.

1. To enable the National Defensive Government to fulfil their responsibilities for national defense and to enable the anti-Japanese united forces fulfil theirs to oppose the Japanese, the Soviet Government and the Communists appeal to the brethren throughout the country as follows:

Those who have guns, should offer their guns. Those who have food should offer their food. Those who have power, should offer their power. Those who have special talents should contribute their talents. All compatriots shall be mobilized and millions of peoples shall be armed with weapons, new and old.

The Government of Soviet China and the Communist Party firmly believe that:

If 450,000,000 Chinese are guided by a united National Defensive Government, if the Unified Anti-Japanese Allied Armies take the lead, if millions of common people are properly armed, and if we are supported by innumerable proletarians and oppressed peoples not only in the East but throughout the world, we will surely be able to overcome Japanese imperialism which within Japan is being opposed by workers and peasants and which outside Japan is regarded with enmity by all powers.

All brothers arise!

Fight for the defense of our fatherland!

Fight for the independence of our people!

Fight for the independence of our country!

Fight for our territorial integrity!

Fight for the human rights and freedom!

Three cheers for the Great Union for Anti-Japanese National Salvation in China!

The People's Council of the Soviet Chinese Government.
The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

1 August 1935

After the publication of this famous declaration, the Chinese people's united front gradually began to take shape. The anti-Japanese people's united front which is now so powerful, has developed along the lines of this declaration. "The powerful should offer their power, the rich should offer their money" common slogan of the whole Chinese people in their present resistance, has been taken from this 8. 1. Declaration. The Declaration to the anti-

Japanese people's united front showing a definite direction, initiated gigantic operations.

Therefore, we can define the period between the 18 September Incident and the 1 August Declaration as the early stage of the anti-Japanese Peoples United Front.

On December 25, 1935, the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communists Party passed a decision "concerning the duty of the Party and the present political situation" and took great interest in the movement of the anti-Japanese People's Unified Front. The full text of the decision is as follows:

Decision concerning the duty of the Party and the present political situation as seen from the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (Dec. 25, 1935).

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The National Defence Government and the Anti-Japanese United Army.

The organization of the National Defence Government and the anti-Japanese Unified Army are two of the most popular and most excellent ones of all the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors people's fronts. There are some elements who do not agree with the Soviet system and the land reform, but concur with the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors movements. Due to the disagreement of politics and economics, the state of local spheres of influence exists and the Chinese Soviet Government has succeeded only in some limited regions of China, and the people's anti-revolutionary movement by betrayers and traitors has been carried on solely by the aid of Japanese imperialism. These facts that the organization of the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army is not only possible but is of acute necessity. The methods adopted by the Chinese in their anti-Japanese and anti-traitors movements are various. The extent of self-consciousness of the elements participating in the anti-Japanese movement are also different. The Communists should avail themselves of every opportunity to provoke strikes of various sorts and lead them towards establishing the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese Unified Army. Every anti-Japanese and anti-traitors element, irrespective of the class, political faction, social group, or whatever armed unit it may represent, should join in the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army.

National Defense Government is a political organization of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors united front of all China and also is the unified leading organ of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors people's revolutionary war. Viewed from the class consciousness, the National Defense Government is a federation of all classes having as their common object the anti-traitors movement.

In order to establish as soon as possible the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army and let them expand and develop the fundamental rights of the race and its fighting power, the policy of the communists is not satisfied to leave the above matters with the anti-Japanese groups and the anti-Japanese armed units which have been in existence voluntarily in the past, but it goes forward to put them under a unified organization, supervise the members of these groups and thus to mobilize every and all patriotic elements out of various directions. In other words, patriotic groups, classes, parties, producers and merchants, culturists and educators, students and

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teaching staffs, the new and old schools, workmen and farmers and the small propertied class, the bourgeoisie, towns and farm villages, and armed units, etc. are all to be mobilized; anti-Japanese and anti-traitors groups (such as anti-Japanese societies and anti-Japanese federations, etc.) are to be promoted; and various anti-Japanese and anti-traitors armies (such as anti-Japanese voluntary armies, people's revolutionary armies, the new 19th Route Army etc.) as well as political powers (such as anti-Japanese governments of regions and municipalities, people's revolutionary governments, etc.) are to be established. When these groups, armies and political powers are combined into one and the power of the Soviet Red Army is added to it, then and there we will have organized the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army. Once the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army are established, the new group, in the course of its daily routine, must cause the new local government and its army to deal constantly with capricious rebels on one hand and to increase the new power on the other, so that the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army may be made everlasting and become the Government and the army with full vigour and fortitude and great fighting power. Some districts do not receive the leadership of the Party because the influence of the Party there is weak, and in others, the Soviet Red Army is unable to participate freely in the establishment of an anti-Japanese Government and an anti-Japanese United Army due to the fact that these districts are too remote from the Red Army or the Soviet Area. The Party should extend its positive assistance to these districts, which is the concrete policy of the Communists Party with respect to the realization of the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army.

Because of the fact that the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army are the most general and supreme organizations of the people's united front of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors movements, they must have most popular general principles of action. These principles are as follows:

1. Anti-Japanese and National Salvation; recovery of lost territories.
2. Confiscate all the property of Japanese imperialism in China and appropriate it to the expenses of anti-Japanese movements.
3. Confiscate all the land and property of traitors and betrayers and distribute them among workers, farmers and poor people.
4. Relief work of sufferers of disasters; river conservancy and stabilization of people's lives.
5. Abolish all unreasonable miscellaneous taxes and develop industry, farming and commerce.
6. Improve the lives of workers, soldiers and teaching staff by the increase of their wages and allowances.
7. Promote education and help uneducated children.

8. Enforce the people's rights and liberate all political criminals.

9. Help the unemployed intellectuals by the improvement of productive techniques.

10. Organize a strong federation with workers, farmers and all other anti-Japanese elements in Korea, Formosa and Japan. Maintain close relations with races or nations which express sympathy to and approval of the national movement of China and approval of the national movement of China and observe bona-fide neutrality.

The Communists must carry out the above principles in the course of their anti-Japanese struggle and must expect to materialize the Party through these principles.

On March 10, 1936, the Northern Area Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, in compliance with the intention of the Central Party announced an "Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Declaration". It is especially significant to note the fact that this is a cry from the North where direct conflict of interests with Japan are taking place. The full text of it is as follows:

XII. Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Declaration of the Northern Area Bureau of the Chinese Communist Central Party (March 10, 1936).

The Northern Area Bureau of the Chinese Communists Party, at the request of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and President of the Chinese Soviet Central Government, and Chu Te, Chairman of the Central Military Council of the Chinese workers and farmers Red Army, hereby declare to all military governors, various social organizations, political parties, newspapers and magazines, and fellow countrymen in the fields of workers, farmers, merchants and educators throughout the nation, as well as to all patriots, as follows:

The Chinese Communists Party and the Soviet Government are prepared to dispatch immediately their representatives and open discussions on the organization of the National Defense Government and the Anti-Japanese United Army, together with all the armies, parties, organizations and organs which are in favor of anti-Japanese movements, and in cooperation with all the first class scholars and politicians. We would further hope that the representatives of the above armies, parties, organizations, organs, and individuals will come to the Soviet area to confer with us. The Soviet Government and the Red Army will guarantee the absolute liberty and safety of these representatives.

The Chinese Communists Party and the Soviet Government had once announced the following principles of the administrative measures of the National Defense Government.

1. Anti-Japanese and National Salvation; Recovery of lost territories.
2. Relief work of sufferers of disasters and river conservancy; Stabilization of peoples' lives.
3. Confiscate all the property of Japanese imperialism in China and appropriate it to the expenses of Anti-Japanese movements.
4. Confiscate all the property, provisions and land of betrayers and traitors and distribute them among poor fellow countrymen and anti-Japanese fighters.
5. Abolish all unreasonable miscellaneous taxes; adjust the finances and the money market; and develop industry, farming and commerce.
6. Improve the lives of workers, farmers, soldiers, educators by the increase of their wages and allowances.
7. Enforce democratic freedom and liberate all political criminals.
8. Practice free education and help all young men who have lost work and are unable to attend school.

9. Practice the policy of indiscriminate equality of every race within the boundaries of China, and guarantee the lives and property and the freedom of residence and business of fellow countrymen within and without China.
10. Get in touch with and make friendly armies of all anti-imperialistic masses (the working masses in Japan, and Korean and Formosan races); get in touch with all the races and nations who are in sympathy with the national emancipation movement of China; and conclude friendly relations with all the races and nations who adopt bona fide neutrality in the anti-Japanese emancipation struggle of the Chinese masses.

On June 1, 1936, the National Salvation United Army of all China was organized and at the general meeting of its establishment they passed the "Elementary Political Principles of the Anti-Japanese and National Salvation." The details are as follows:

XIII. Elementary Political Principles of Anti-Japanese and National Salvation (June 1, 1936).

1. Fundamental organization.

As to the external resistance of the national revolution, some advocated, in the past, the general anti-imperialism; some insisted upon the separate anti-British movement at first; but others maintained that the anti-Japanese movement should be carried out separately at first. However, at present, all these divergent opinions have come to be united under the one principle of "anti-Japanese first." With regard to the measures of anti-Japanese movements, some said that war should be avoided while others considered it would be unavoidable. However, at present, all different opinions have come to be united under the one principle that an "anti-Japanese war is inevitable."

2. Common enemies:

Japanese imperialism and traitors are the common enemies of the National Salvation Front.

3. Political system:

The general meeting recognizes that the establishment of democratic system is the fundamental condition for the thoroughgoing collaboration of various parties and factions. The freedom of association, assembly, speech and publication is the demand of the United Front, which makes no concession in this respect. We oppose positively to any measures which may destroy the organization of the masses, although they are carried out under the pretext of leading such an organization, and also to those measures which may suppress public opinion, although carried out under the pretext of controlling it.

4. Diplomacy:

We must apply fully our talent of popular diplomacy to unite all influences of anti-Japanese and anti-war peoples' fronts of the whole world. We must develop the ability of our National Salvation Front and make sure of our victory over the war of resistance.

5. Education:

The general meeting considers that the present education which teaches academic technicalities by reading dead books and makes students self-intoxicated in reading obsolete books is a crime. We are in urgent need of many young fighters who would take leadership in the National Salvation movement, and take charge of the management of National Salvation. We cannot, therefore, waste even in the least degree, the intellectual power of young men other than for the purpose of National Salvation. We cannot afford to destroy the sentiment of National Salvation of young men.

6. Industry and commerce.

We must boycott Japanese goods on a large scale.

7. Soldiers:

We must improve the treatment of soldiers at once and strengthen their anti-Japanese consciousness.

8. Industrial workers:

We demand the immediate disengagement of the present workers' organizations. The reason is to strengthen, on one hand, the anti-Japanese and anti-betrayer fights by several hundreds of thousands of workers who are under the employment of the Japanese capitalistic organization in China, thus we intend negatively to prevent the expansion of the influences of Japanese capitalism, and positively, to train several hundreds of thousands of heroic fighters, and to emancipate the national industry from the oppression of Japanese capitalism. On the other hand, we must, by the power of the nation, improve the treatment of workers under the national capitalistic organization, guarantee their lives, and heighten their national salvation consciousness. In case of necessity, we must provide for the minimum wage, the maximum working hours and the highest and lowest ages of workers. We must do away with all inhuman treatments and unjust oppression and give workers the freedom of reading, talking and assembly, etc., which are required for national salvation.

9. Farmers:

The general meeting recognizes that the state should guarantee the reasonable lives of land owners in so far as their lives are founded upon the common anti-Japanese resistance.

10. Women:

We insist that women should be given an opportunity to join the National Salvation Front on an equal footing with men.

11. Chinese residents abroad.

The general meeting considers that the Chinese residents in the South Seas, Europe and the United States should strengthen their organizations and be engaged in international propaganda and be a powerful source to supply economic aid. Appropriate protection must be given to their legitimate interests. The general meeting recognizes the fact that the Chinese residents in Japan, Korea and Formosa are suffering from heavy oppressions of Japanese imperialism, and that they are the most daring elements of the anti-Japanese front, and they, therefore, should be grouped under some organizations, and relief must be extended to those who return home from these countries due to oppression.

The general meeting considers that the skilled technicians of the national defense industry should be urged politely to return home. Collecting workers in China by aggressive nations should be stopped immediately.

On June 13, 1936, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the "Resolution on the Present Political Situation." It gave a criticism upon the actual general situation and a direction concerning the development of the anti-Japanese movement. The following is the full text:

XIV. The Resolution on the Present Political Situation.

a. Our party executed the new policy concerning the anti-Japanese United Front with the following favourable results:

1. Since the outbreak of the national salvation movement by the Peiping students on December 9th last year, a large scale movement for the cause of saving the country by opposing Japan started throughout the country. Those who joined the movement were not only workers and farmers, but also common students, soldiers, intellectuals, shop clerks and some native capitalists. Especially as the Japanese militarism dared to increase forces in North China and encouraged piratical smuggling, many manufacturers and merchants and some of the ruling classes in Nanking, North China and especially in the Southwest expressed their sympathy with the anti-Japanese movement, and they are now joining the Front.

The violent invasion of the Japanese imperialism, the shameless betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek, the oppression upon the people and the opposition have enhanced the possibility of a grand scale development of the anti-Japanese Front. All the peoples promoted the fight against traitors under the leadership of the United National Salvation Organization and established anti-Japanese and anti-traitors organizations. A great mass movement is being planned at present among the peoples in North China, especially among intellectual peoples.

The lower class soldiers of the 29th army are extremely indignant avowing publicly their refusal to withdraw in any eventuality. They are plotting to disobey orders from their superiors. Individual politicians also are conferring on the present crisis with the influential people in Peiping. In short, there is a big possibility of touching off a grand scale armed anti-Japanese movement in North China. In addition, the armies in Shansi, the Northeast, and some followers of Liu Hsiang are showing uneasiness with the possibility of their siding with the anti-Japanese front.

Special mention must be made to the following facts: The Southwest army, confronted with unfavorable oppressions and inspired by the movement, sent a circular telegram on May 26 to the effect that they were against the increase of Japanese forces in North China. Following this, two more telegrams were sent to Nanking urging the anti-Japanese war. On 7th of the same month they sent a circular telegram throughout the country notifying the change of their name from Kuang-si and Canton Armies, to the first and fourth group Armies of the Revolutionary Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army of China. Those armies immediately started the northward movement and have already advanced to Hengchow in Hunan. Special mention must be made also to the fact that since we proposed on August 1 last year to organize a United National Defense Government and the Anti-Japanese United Army, comprising all parties and the whole people, we have sent frequent circular telegrams advocating it, and the calling of the general conference of the representatives of the Anti-Japanese National Salvation movements of the whole country. Especially on May 5 our party and its leaders Mao Tse Tung and Chu Te sent a circular telegram strongly advocating the cessation of internal strifes, the opening

of a conference for mutual concessions and a united anti-Japanese war. These arguments were fervently supported by the powerful elements in the armies and the people as a whole. They contributed much to the advancement of the movement. Now the main forces of the Red Army in Shensi and Sikang, the guerrilla troops throughout the country and the Peoples' Revolutionary Army in the Northeast have indicated smooth developments to become central powers of the whole anti-Japanese Army.

The nation wide racial war has broken out in the Southwest region situated far from the military base of the Japanese imperialism. We must recognize the fact that the present war initiated by the Southwestern Military Administrative authorities is not a genuine militaristic civil war, but has the significance of a racial revolution. It is in one sense a war against the leader of traitor, Chiang Kai-shek, though it is hard to distinguish the anti-Japanese war from the Anti-Chiang war. If all the people adopt the new policy of our Party with the aid and protection of the Anti-Japanese United Front, the present war will develop into a real and powerful national war. Regardless of whether it is before or after the outbreak of the war, we must adopt the most appropriate measure for the promotion, support and enlargement of this war. For the masses, we must repeat the mission entrusted to the Government and the Army, and mobilize all the anti-traitors forces in order to establish a proper government and an Army around the Soviet Peoples Republic and the Anti-Japanese Red Army.

I. Decision on the Establishment of a Democratic Republic at the New Stage of the Anti-Japanese Movement (the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party - 17 Sept. 1936).

We must secure the people at large and the revolutionary and self-conscious elements as well. Every possible element among the ruling classes shall be mobilized for the anti-Japanese war. The United Front shall be enlarged and our camps and their powers shall be strengthened. It is the necessary conditions for the execution of a large-scale anti-Japanese armed struggle to impel the Nanking Government and its administration to join the movement. Nevertheless, it does not mean to neglect strict criticisms and fights against the false conduct by the Nanking Government contrary to the national interest.

The enlargement of the Communist Party and the complete independence of its politics and organizations and the unity of the party, are the fundamental conditions for obtaining the final victory of the United Front and the Democratic Republic. It is an absolute necessity to enlist party members in the Soviet and the non-Soviet areas by systematic methods.

A circular telegram concerning the Hsian Incident
(Dec. 19, 1936)

(From the central authority of the Chinese Communist
Party and the Chinese Soviet Government)

Messrs. Kung Yung-yuan, Sun-Che-Shen, Feng-Huan-chan,
Chen-Li-fu in Nanking; Members of the Nationalist Party
and the Nationalist Government; Chang-Han-chiang-shin,
Yang Hu-cheng, Wang Ting Fang, Sun-Ju in Hsian; members of
the Northwest Provisional Military Council or the
Anti-Japanese United Army.

Since the Anti-Japanese programs were proposed at Hsian,
the country was thrown into a turmoil. The "internal
Peace first and expulsion afterwards" policy could no
longer be continued. It is a fair view that the
people in Hsian do not fall behind the others in their
ardent patriotism. They insist on immediate anti-
Japanese actions. The Nanking Government with the
exception of pro-Japanese elements is in favor of
anti-Japanese actions though its pace is rather slow.
They do not want civil wars. In view of the present
situation, without the movement we cannot survive
and without unity and cooperation, the movement cannot
attain its objective. The continuance of civil wars
would lead us to nowhere but to a final collapse.
At this critical moment, our party and our government
offer the following proposals to both sides.

a. Tung Kuan shall be the border between both
armies. Nanking army shall wait for the outcome of
the peace conference within Shensi Province.

b. A peace conference shall at once be called
by Nanking. In addition to the representatives of
both Nanking and Hsian, the members of various parties, factions
and armies shall be invited. Our party and our
government start preparations for dispatching representa-
tives.

c. Prior to the conference, a draft on the
Anti-Japanese Salvation problem shall be presented
and the disposal of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek shall be
discussed. However, the fundamental principle shall
be the national unity, the opposition against civil wars
and the united anti-Japanese actions.

d. The conference shall be opened in Nanking.
The above mentioned proposals are the most reasonable
and effective measures for solving the present urgent
problems. We hope that the gentlemen in Nanking
would instantly decide national policies in order not
to give the Japanese an opportunity to take advantage
of our national confusion. Further we hope that all
the parties and factions of the peoples would spur
the opening of a peace conference in order to dis-
cuss definite national policies and face the national
crisis.

crisis.

21. A circular telegram addressed to the Third General Congress of the Chinese Nationalist Party by the central organization of the Chinese Communist Party. (10 Feb. 1937). Honorable Representatives attending the Third General Congress of the Chinese Nationalist Party. The whole nation congratulates on the peaceful solution of the Hsian Incident, which will open the way to the establishment of a principle on peaceful unification and united effort for defending the national honour. This is a happy event for the country and the people. At this critical moment for the Chinese people caused by the Japanese invasion this party earnestly hopes that the Third General Congress of your party would adopt the following items as the national policies based upon the above mentioned principles.

a. Cessation of all internal strifes, concentration of national powers, united actions concerning foreign affairs.

b. Freedom of speech, gathering, and party organization; Release of all political criminals.

c. A conference of representatives from all parties, factions, circles, and armies shall be convened. All competent persons throughout the country shall be called upon to save the country by united actions.

d. All preparations for a war against Japan shall be speedily completed.

e. Betterment of peoples livelihood. In case the Third General Congress of your party decisively adopt the aforementioned national policy, this party swears to the Third General Congress of your party to execute the following as a means to express the seriousness of this party in its effort to defend the national honour by united actions.

1. Cessation of armed revolts aiming at the downfall of the Nationalist Government throughout the country.

2. The name of the Soviet Government will be changed to that of the Chinese Special District Government, and the name of the Red Army will be changed to that of the National Revolutionary Army. Both will be subjected to the direct guidance of the central government in Nanking and the Military Committee respectively.

3. Ordinarily understood system of democracy will be adopted within the district under the Special District Government.

4. Confiscation of lands owned by land owners will be discontinued and the common principles for the united anti-Japanese racial front will be strickly adhered to. The situation is becoming more critical everyday which does not allow us to waste time in waiting. This party can swear to God that it is loyal to the country. If you people accept in earnest the request of this party for the sake of the country,

the united front for the national salvation by defending the national honour will be realized. We are as much the descendants of the Wang Emperor and the children of the Chinese race as you are. It is a great prelude to the final freedom for the Chinese race to make a common effort in intimate collaboration abandoning all old political views at this immediate national crisis. With a greeting worthy of a racial revolution we hereby send this telegram in anticipation of a wise answer.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

The publication of this proposal by the Chinese Communist Party was received favourably by a wide mass of the people and gave good impressions abroad. It was welcome not only to the general patriotic faction but even to some of the influential members of the Nationalist Party. Resumption of three great principles - "alliance with Russia", "collaboration with the Communists", "Protection of industrial workers and farmers" - was proposed publicly to the Third General Congress with joint signatures of central executive committee members of the Nationalist Party, Feng Yu-hsiang, Chang Jen-chieh, Li Shih-hueh, Sun Ko, Lu Chung-ling, Shih Ying, Chang Chih-peng, Shih Chin-ting, Li Lieh-chun, Chu Chi-chin, Liang Han-tsao, Ching Ting-yi, Sung Chin-ling, Ho Hsiang-yi etc.,. Heated debates concerning this problem were conducted between the left and right wings of the Third General Congress. However, the preponderance of the right wing influence prevented the Congress from adopting drastic reorientation concerning internal and external policies. On the contrary, the Congress passed a resolution on "annihilation of red evils" instead of collaboration between Nationalists and Communists criticising severely the Communist Party. It was for the first time during the session of the Third General Congress that the central executive committee of the Nationalist Party took up the question of collaboration with the Communist Party since the rupture of the Nationalists and the Communists in 1927.

Def. Doc. 930-K

Message to all the Party-men of the Chinese Communist Party
(April 15, 1937)

Comrades!

After the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident and the Third General Conference of the Kuomintang, the Chinese revolution has entered a new stage. Our duty in this stage is to consolidate the internal peace already obtained, to achieve the people's democratic rights and to incite an anti-Japanese war. The completion of this duty requires a large scale mobilization of the entire nation. Our comrades should fight for the ideal with a sacrificial spirit and a dauntless will. The China Communist Party should present a platform that represents the economic, political and cultural interests of respective social classes and strata to cope with the present situation and to stir up the people to participate in the war. The party should, moreover, exert itself for its execution. Actual practice of such platform will never work against best results for national victory, but will be advantageous to the movement. Our Party is opposed to views that emphasize antagonism between class interests and racial interests. We stress that complete emancipation of the Chinese peoples does mean the greatest advantage to the Chinese workers, peasants and petty bourgeois. Meanwhile, the Party must first of all improve people's living. After such improvement, victory in racial emancipation will be attained. The new situation demands that all Party-men pay attention to the political problems both in China and in the world with utmost political sagacity and minutest observance, and thus be freed from narrow view-points and bureaucracy. Thus our comrades are required to analyze actual circumstances in detail according to the methods of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. They are required also to heed the cries of the masses, to prepare proper arguments, strategies and slogans, and to solve the various problems of politics and economy with modesty and exactness. The principles of Marx, Lenin and Stalin must be effected as guidance to our actions. Remember that whether or not the Party can lead the actual revolutionary movement in due course will determine the result of the present revolution.

Ref. Doc. 1980-1

Message of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the Japanese advance on LuKowkiao. (July 8, 1937)

All newspaper offices, corporations, armies, the Nationalist Party, Nationalist Government, Military Council, all brothers!

At 10 P. M. on the 7th, the Japanese army attacked the Feng Chi-an forces of the Chinese Garrison at Lukowkiao, demanding their withdrawal to Chongchiao. The troops did not obey the demand, and a clash ensued. At present now the armies are confronting each other. The Ping-tsin and North China regions are already now exposed to Japan's armed invasion. The time is extremely critical. Regardless of that the Japanese provocation may develop into a grand-scale incident or result in diplomatic demands which may lead to future invasions. This dangerous situation tells us that the slogans "New Recognition" or "New Policy" toward China reported by former Japanese Imperialists were smoke screens in preparation for a new advance. The Chinese Communists have pointed this out to the people from early days. Now the screen has been removed. The Chinese peoples are now faced with the danger of invasion by Japanese imperialism.

All the brothers of all China! Ping-tsin is now in danger! The Chinese people are at a crisis! Resistance is the only way to emancipation. We demand that the people effect a decisive counter-attack against the Japanese army and prepare at once for the arrival of a new large incident. People of all classes, must discard all hope or expectation of a compromise, peace with the Japanese.

All brothers in China! We should praise and support the heroic resistance of the Feng Chi-an troops. We must admire and support the Declaration by the North China authorities that we live or die with our country. We demand that General Sun, Che-yuan call out the entire 29th Army and push forward to meet the enemy at the front. We demand that the Nanking Central Government aid the 29th Army instantly and effectively facilitate the patriotic movements of all peoples, strengthen the fighting spirit, mobilize the armies of all kinds and prepare for war. Every underground traitor and all Japanese espionage shall be purged and the rear shall be fortified. We demand that all the people support the holy anti-Japanese war of self-defense.

Our Slogan:

Defend Tientsin with arms! Defend North China!
Never let Japanese imperialism invade even a bit of Chinese land!
Offer the last drop of blood for the defence of our land!
Unite all brothers in China, the Government and the Army, in establishing the strong great wall of a United Nation.
Front, and in resisting the Japanese invasion. Unite Nationalists and Communists closely for resistance to the new invasion of the Japanese! Drive the Japanese from China!

Central Council of Soviet China.

* arrival incident

On August 15, 1937, the Central Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party announced the "Ten Point-platform of the Anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation Movement". It read as follows:

I. Overthrow of Japanese Imperialism.

We shall declare breaking off of friendship with Japan, drive out Japanese officials, capture spies, and confiscate their properties in China, cancel Japanese loans, abolish Sino-Japanese treaties, fight till the last for the defense of North China and the second front and restoration of Lungsun and the North-East, drive out Japanese imperialism from China, and oppose any wavering and compromise.

II. General Mobilization. We will mobilize all the armies, carry out nation-wide resistance, oppose the passive strategy of simple defense, adopt an independent and positive operations plan, establish a permanent National Defense Council in which to discuss and decide the national defense plan and operational plans, arm the people, develop the guerilla war along with operations of the main force, renovate the political training of the army, unite and coordinate the commanding staffs with the fighting personnel and the army with the people, develop to the fullest extent the effectiveness of the army, aid the North-East Peoples' Revolutionary Army and the North-East volunteer Army in their operation of the destruction of the enemys rear service, realize the equal treatment of all anti-Japanese armies, establish a military district system throughout the country, make the people participate in the war and substitute a volunteer system for the present mercenary system.

III. Mobilization of the entire nation all the people in the country except traitorous Chinese shall have freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association relating to the Anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation movement and, freedom of armed resistance against Japan. Every regulation restricting the peoples' patriotic movements shall be abolished, every patriotic and revolutionary criminal freed, all the people mobilized to participate in the war, the powerful ordered to offer their strength, the rich their wealth, those who possess weapons their weapons, and the intellectual persons their knowledge. All the minor races, such as Mongolians, Manchurians, etc., shall be mobilized for common resistance according to the principle of racial self-determination.

d) Reformation of the Political Structure, a National Conference really representative of the people shall be convened a true democratic constitution adopted, the policy of the Anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation Movement decided and the National Defense Government elected. The National Defense Government should absorb the revolutionary elements from every party, school and popular organizations and expel the pro-Japanese elements. The Government for the National defense shall be organized according to a democratic federal system.

It shall carry out the revolutionary policy of the Anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation movement, execute local self-administration, drive out greedy officials and establish an upright Government.

V. Anti-Japanese Diplomacy.

We will conclude an anti-aggression pact and anti-Japanese military alliance with any state opposed to Japanese aggression insofar as we do not lose thereby our territory or sovereignty. We will defend the peace front and oppose the aggressive front of Japan, Germany and Italy. We will oppose Japanese imperialism by uniting workers and farmers in Korea, Formosa and Japan proper.

VI. Wartime Financial and Economic Policy The principle of the financial policy is to make the rich offer money, to confiscate the properties of traitors in order to cover the anti-Japanese war expenses. As regards the economic policy, domestic production shall be reorganized and expanded, agriculture developed, self-sufficiency in wartime farm products secured, consumption of domestic goods encouraged, domestic products improved, consumption of Japanese products prohibited, and greedy merchants and speculation controlled.

g) Improvement of people's living.
Treatment of workers, farmers, officials, teachers and anti-Japanese soldiers shall be improved. The families of anti-Japanese armies shall be well-treated, heavy and futile taxes abolished, rent and interest reduced, provisions controlled, and calamities and disasters recompensed.

h) Anti-Japanese Education Policy.
Old educational systems and schedules shall be revised and replaced by new ones aiming at the anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation movement, uniform and obligatory, educations shall be given free of charge and the social consciousness of the people strengthened. Military drill of patriotic students shall be put into practice.

IX. All traitors and pro-Japanese groups shall be purged and the rear shall be consolidated.

X. All anti-Japanese races shall unite on the basis of complete cooperation of Nationalists and Communists. An anti-Japanese Racial Front shall be established through the collaboration of all parties, schools and armies throughout the land, in order to conduct the anti-Japanese war and to meet the national crisis with the utmost sincerity and integrity.

The Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party.

Def Doc No. 980-N

Decision concerning the Duty of the Party in the Present Situation, made by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Aug. 15, 1937)

All the people and the armed forces led by the Communists must stand at the foremost war front as the kernel of the nation-wide resistance. They must develop the anti-Japanese mass movement with the utmost ability. If that organ stands firm and conducts propaganda among the popular organization and the armed groups, and organizes some millions of peoples into the national anti-Japanese front, without fail final victory in the war can be achieved. (Aug. 15, 1937)